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SOLI DEO GLORIA

AESTHETICS *and* ART
in the
ASTRÉE *of* HONORÉ D'URFÉ

BY

SISTER MARY CATHARINE MCMAHON, M. A.
Of The Ursuline Nuns,
Cleveland, Ohio.

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Catholic Sisters College of the Catholic University of America in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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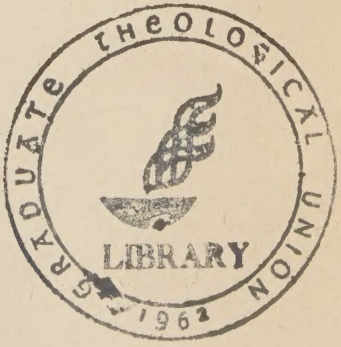

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TO MY UNCLE

THE REVEREND JAMES J. QUINN,
PASTOR OF ST. CATHERINE'S
CHURCH, CLEVELAND, OHIO,
THIS STUDY IS AFFEC-
TIONATELY DEDICATED.

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PREFACE

No apology seems necessary for a work such as presented here when one considers the powerful influence exerted by the *Astrée* on French literature and society of the seventeenth century. One of the most recent critics of this work of Honoré d'Urfé, M. Joseph Vianey (1923), remarks that without this romance the great literature of France of that century would not be what it became. For it was the creations of the pen of d'Urfé that gave the impulse to such skilful masters of character portrayal as Corneille, Racine, and Molière, and in order to understand thoroughly "le grand siècle" one is first obliged to study the *Astrée*. This favorable opinion is shared by most modern writers competent to judge such matters, among them, Ferdinand Brunetière. But while the literary aspects of the work and its influence on literature and society have been duly emphasized, the theories of beauty in nature and art in the *Astrée* have not been studied. This is all the more remarkable because our author explicitly builds his theory of "honneste amitié" as he terms it, on a basis of aesthetics. He associates the two so closely that he asserts love to be a desire for beauty. It is the aim of the present study to fill this lacuna. In a short sketch of his life and chief work, we have indicated the various factors in the formation of d'Urfé's aesthetical temperament. We have then analysed his theories of beauty and their application to Nature and Art. Although, at first, it was not our purpose to trace the actual influence of the *Astrée* on subsequent art, nevertheless, as we have found some scattered data on the subject, in the hope that this information might prove interesting, we have given the result of the investigation in an additional section.

As it was impossible to procure a complete set of volumes of the same edition, we had to be content with a complete *Astrée* composed thus: For Part I, we have used the edition of Hugues Vaganay (Bibliotheca Romanica, Strasbourg), the only one of the set published so far; for Part II, the edition of 1631; for

Part III and for Part IV, 1646 and 1633; for Part V, 1628. To this fact are due some discrepancies in pagination. Our quotations are by Part, Book, and Page of the respective editions.

For assistance in procuring the literature necessary for this work, the writer is indebted to the Reverend Jean-Claude Thoral, Lyons; the Reverend Patrick O'Boyle, Paris, and M. Hugues Vaganay, editor of the works of Ronsard, who is preparing a new complete edition of the *Astrée* to commemorate the three hundredth anniversary of the death of Honoré d'Urfé. She expresses her thanks to the Reverend Nicholas A. Weber, S.M., S.T.D., Reverend Arthur A. Vaschalde, Ph.D., and Mr. Roy Joseph Deferrari, Ph.D., of the Catholic University of America, for reading the manuscript and for offering many valuable suggestions. To her Professors and Instructors at the Catholic Sisters College, particularly to the Reverend Nicholas A. Weber, S.M., S.T.D., Professor of History; the Reverend James A. Geary, Instructor in Comparative Philology; and Mr. Joseph Schneider, Instructor in French, she also expresses her gratitude.

She takes this opportunity to acknowledge her appreciation to the Reverend James J. Quinn, Cleveland; Reverend Mother Eusebia, Sr. M. Juliana Quinn, and the Ursuline Community of Cleveland, Ohio, for the privilege of studying at the Catholic Sisters College, Washington.

It is also the pleasant duty of the writer to express in an especial manner her gratitude to the Reverend Romain Butin, S.M., S.T.L., Ph.D., of the Catholic University of America, who has the advantage of familiarity with the country of the *Astrée*. He suggested the subject and furnished the chief inspiration for its development. Through his unfailing kindness the dissertation has been completed, and to Dr. Butin the author owes a debt she cannot hope fully to repay.

Sister Mary Catharine McMahon.
Catholic Sisters College,
Brookland, D. C.
June, 1925.

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Chapter I.

HONORÉ D'URFÉ AND HIS AESTHETIC FORMATION.

Honoré d'Urfé is a turning point not only in the development of French literature but in French culture. Without him it is more than probable that the seventeenth century would not have been the "grand siècle." Through his fine psychological analysis of character he created a current of refinement which in its exaggerated form became preciosity but which purified and kept within reasonable bounds produced Corneille, Racine, Bossuet and Fénelon.[1] In order to form an accurate appreciation of d'Urfé and credit him with whatever contribution he has made to the advancement of culture, it is first necessary to discover in what degree he is indebted to heredity, education and environment. In his case we are fortunate in having the key to many of his characteristics and achievements, for he enjoyed unique opportunities for literary and artistic training from traditions existing in the family, from the education he received, and from the milieu in which he lived. All these factors concurred in bestowing upon him much of the culture of the great movement of the Renaissance.

Our purpose here is not to write a complete and detailed biography of Honoré d'Urfé[2] but to emphasize what has special reference to the high idealism and aesthetical culture which caused his person to be loved and admired by his contemporaries and made his work, the *Astrée,* the most widely read book in the seventeenth century.

[1] Writers are too prone to condemn the précieux movement. In its first phase it was a praiseworthy attempt to refine the language and manners of a coarse and brutal age. When the Hôtel de Rambouillet set the style in preciosity it contributed in creating a politeness which first surprised and later pleased society by its novelty. Its very manner of treating love in a ceremonious way was in itself a safeguard in this age of general laxity. The tendency was similar to English euphuism, Spanish gongorism and Italian marinism. This desire to avoid the commonplace or vulgar led eventually to exaggeration. The change in the meaning of the word gives an index of the gradual degeneration of real preciosity—"précieux" originally signified the English, "exquisite," later on it was identified with affectation, cf. Wright, *A History of French Literature,* p. 276 ff; Bédier and Hazard, *Histoire de la Littérature française illustrée,* Vol. I, p. 230.

[2] For historical studies on Honoré d'Urfé see the work of Bernard, *Les d'Urfé en Forez,* in which he has incorporated the *Généalogie* of La Mure; Reure, *La Vie et les Oeuvres d'Honoré d'Urfé;* Chagny, *Un Ligueur,* also the works mentioned in the bibliography.

Honoré d'Urfé, son of Jacques d'Urfé and Renée of Savoy was born February 11, 1567, in Marseilles.[3]

The d'Urfé family was known to have existed in Forez since the twelfth century.[4] Their history, beginning with the Crusades, shows that the name was always synonymous with patriotism and devotion to Christian ideals. Their achievements extend from the siege of Antioch, run parallel with every important phase in the growth of the French monarchy, and link the story of the Old World with that of the New in the person of Achille-François d'Urfé, the last scion of the famous house who fought under La Fayette in the War for American Independence.[5]

Family traditions, more or less legendary, claim that the founder of the house migrated from Swabia and settled in Forez in the eighth century.[6] The authentic history, however, begins with Wulphe le Robuste who distinguished himself in the siege of Antioch, 1098.[7] Wulphe le Vaillant, son of Robert le Robuste, married Aymée, cousin of the Count of Forez in 1129, and settled in the province. He built a feudal castle on a picturesque but almost inaccessible point not far from the confines of Auvergne, the ruins of which are still known locally as the "Cornes d'Urfé" (Horns of d'Urfé). This Wulphe changed the name to Ulphé and became the real founder of the line.[8]

Guichard d'Ulphé, the intimate friend of Louis II, Duke of Bourbon and Count of Forez brought the name to greater renown.[9] In the company of "Jehanne la bonne pucelle" as

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[3] The family lived at that time in the chateau of La Bastie in Forez a little province west of Lyons now in the Department of the Loire. The voyage of Mme. d'Urfé to the South was probably motivated by a visit to her domains near Nice. She spent some time in Marseilles with her brother Honorat of Savoie-Tende, governor of Provence, and it was during this time that her son, Honoré, was born. The accidental circumstance of his birth does not warrant our claiming a Provençal origin for the author of the Astrée; Honoré himself always claimed to be a "Forézien"; cp. L'Autheur à la Bergère Astrée, *Astrée*, I, 33.

[4] Bernard, *Les d'Urfé en Forez*, pp. 13 f.

[5] Saint-Georges, *Achille-François de Lascaris d'Urfé*, pp. 210 ff.

[6] Bernard, *Les d'Urfé*, pp. 4 f., gives the text of a curious old Gothic document which mentions a Wulphe living in Forez at the end of the eighth century. The name d'Urfé is, according to Körting, related to the Teutonic Wolff, becoming by phonetic transformation Ulphe, Ulphé, Ulfé, and finally Urfé; see *Geschichte des französischen Romans im XVII Jahrhundert*, Vol. I, p. 70. La Mure declares that the name d'Urfé or Ulphé existed as the name of a fief in Forez long before the coming of Henry Wulphe; Bernard, *Les d'Urfé*, pp. 5 f.

[7] In recognition for his services Wulphe le Robuste received from the assembled Christian princes the coat of arms blazoned de *vair au chef de gueules* ever afterwards employed by the family; Bernard, *Les d'Urfé*, pp. 11 f.

[8] Bernard, *Les d'Urfé*, p. 14.

[9] The friendship on the part of the Bourbons for the d'Urfé family was based partly on motives of self interest: Louis felt the need of having a powerful friend and ally on his domains to guard the road from Lyons to Paris which ran through the plain of Forez; see Tilley, *Dawn of the French Renaissance*, pp. 61 ff. A grandson of Guichard was one of the deputies at the famous treaty of Arras which put an end

St. Joan of Arc was popularly known, Pierre d'Urfé witnessed the coronation of Charles VII, 1429, and some time later was made Grand-Maitre de Arbalêtriers. His nephew, François d'Urfé, Baron d'Oroze, was famed in song and story as the faithful companion of Bayard in the combat he sustained against the Spanish knights.[10]

Still it is with Pierre II, mortal enemy of Louis XI,[11] that the strictly artistic chapter of the family history opens. The part played by him in the development of the arts in Forez has been somewhat overshadowed by the greater prominence given his son Claude, nevertheless he was very closely identified with the activities that led to the revival of interest in the new ideas filtering from Italy into France towards the close of the fifteenth century.[12] His opportunity came with the expedition of Charles VIII to Italy. While it was politically a failure, the campaign was of far-reaching consequence in the artistic history of France for it gave impetus to the Renaissance movement then gathering force in that country and particularly in the district of the Loire.[13] Operations were not exclusively confined to the military aspect of the war and Pierre with the other leaders was in a sympathetic mood to receive the aesthetic impressions which would later be productive of good results.[14] Because of the very lack of scientific military preparations the expedition of Charles VIII was more like an artistic pilgrimage than a serious war. From the outset, one of the chief preoccupations of the king was the suitable decoration of the royal ship, and in the meeting at the house of Charles of Amboise the "war chiefs" were solemnly engaged in consultation on the various details relating to this.[15] Much time

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to the sanguinary quarrels between the French and the Burgundians, see Bernard, *Les d'Urfé*, p. 26.

[10] *Le Loyal Serviteur* t. IV, p. 18, quoted in Chagny, *Un Ligueur*, p. 22, note 2.

[11] Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 5; Bernard, *Les d'Urfé*, pp. 35 ff.

[12] Pierre d'Urfé successfully negotiated the marriage of Charles VIII with Anne of Brittany, an important step in centralizing the king's power by uniting the last of the great fiefs to the crown, without which the success of the French Renaissance would have been impossible; see Tilley, *The Dawn of the French Renaissance*, pp. 149-160.

[13] It is not to be understood that art was dead in France, but after the glorious triumph of the Gothic which was peculiarly national in its salient characteristics, an epoch of decadence had followed. The vivifying breath of Italy gave her art a new life; and France succeeded in snatching from her neighbor the laurels of artistic triumph which she has never since relinquished; Courajod, *Les Origines de la Renaissance en France, passim.*

[14] In this enterprise of Charles VIII a great part of the responsibility was placed in the hands of Pierre d'Urfé. He received from the king a commission to organize an army (1494) and to equip a naval force at Genoa for the conquest of Naples; cf. Philippe de Commines, bk. 7, chap. V.

[15] "Pour cette grosse affaire, il avait, le premier juin envoyé 'hastivement et a grant dilligence,' en mission spéciale à genes, le clerc d'office Colinet du Myn: Colinet

and money were consumed in this way for both the king and the aristocracy had agreed that such artistic display was necessary for their march through Italy.[16] As might be expected, the party returned dazzled at the marvels they beheld there and much of the spoil taken was of an artistic nature.[17] While some was lost at Fornova, and the bronze gates of Castel Nuovo together with the statue of Alphonsus I which had been sent by sea from Naples, were captured by the Genoese, yet, Charles succeeded in plundering the secret of Italy's wonderful art: he also brought from Naples a number of workmen, whom he set to work on Amboise.[18]

A souvenir of this Italian trip of Pierre d'Urfé is the statue of St. Catherine, now at Champoly, Loire. From its material, small size, and the treatment of the drapery, M. Vitry suggests its Italian origin. On the other hand, the face is decidedly French and gives the impression of a portrait.[19] This is one of

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demanda à d'Urfé et autres 'chefs de guerre' des indications de dessin, de mesure, de nombre, pour la confection des drapeaux; il rapporta plusieurs patrons peints, que le roy voulut examiner lui-même à Dijon, et qu'il envoya confectionner à lyon 'a grant dilligence.' Le décor coûta fort cher; on ne peut pas régler à moins de 2,438 livres la simple execution des drapeaux mais on devait obtenir un résultat pompeux"; see Maulde La Clavière, *Histoire de Louis XII*, III, i, pp. 49 ff.

[16] The ship of the Duke of Orleans, "devait porter huit bannières dans les coins de la proue, soit quatorze bannières, artistiquement décorées par les pientres lyonnais Jean Prevost et Pierre du Past, dit d'aubenas, de trois grandes fleurs de lis sur chaque face . . . Louis d'Orléans, du reste, n'éprouva pas moins le besoin de se mettre à l'unison du luxe et de l'art des Italiens . . . Ils trouvaient comme l'a bien dit M. Mérimée, toutes les séductions que la nature, les arts, une civilization rafinée pouvaient offrir à des hommes ardents à tous les plaisirs et qui croyaient les rencontrer pour la première fois. D'ailleurs on se plaisait à les enivrer de merveilles"; Maulde La Clavière, *Hist. de Louis XII*, t. III, i. pp. 49 f.

[17] In December 1495, the royal treasurer paid for the transportation (from Naples to Lyons and by land from Lyons to Amboise) of manuscripts, tapestries and marbles to the weight of 87,000 pounds; *Archives de l'Art français*, 1305, quoted by Tilley, *Dawn of the French Renaissance*, p. 115.

[18] Maulde La Clavière, *Hist. de Louis XII*, t. III, p. 328. Discontent at the campaign of Charles VIII found expression in the popular songs of the time in which the leaders of the expedition came in for a share of ridicule:

Rondeau dudit Voyage.
Sainct Malo, d'Urphé et Beaucaire,
Ne nous fera l'on jamais taire,
De Naples guyder le voyage,
Que le grant dyable ou mille rage
Vous puisse les bouches retraire!
Assez sçavez qu'il est contraire
Au Royaume; mais pour actraire
Le chappeau, vous guyder l'affaire,
Sainct Malo'.

Bourgeois, marchans, veuillez retraire
Le fol conseil, quant chascun braire
Voyez de vous a forcenage.
On vous mettra, pardieu en cage,
En Barbary ou au Caire,
Sainct Malo!
Quoted in Maulde La Clavière, *ibid.*, p. 8.

[19] Thiollier remarks: "La statue de Sainte Catherine, à Champoly, haute de Om, 77, est en marbre blanc, elle est séduisante sous tous les aspects et spécialement vue du dos à profil perdu, avec une abondante chevelure s'étendant sur un manteau aux plis longs et réguliers. Cette statue provient de l'église de Saint-Pierre d'Urfé, et il est probable qu'elle fut donnée par Catherine de Polignac, femme de Pierre II d'Urfé;

the few statues found in the district of the Loire showing the influence of the Renaissance towards the end of the fifteenth century. It may have been presented by Pierre d'Urfé as a memorial to his first wife and he probably bought the marble for it in Italy.

Another proof that Pierre was imbued with the new spirit is the fact that he abandoned the old feudal castle as the family residence and began the enlarging and transforming of his chateau of La Bastie situated near the plain in a more accessible location.[20] The immediate cause for this was the visit of Charles II of Bourbon and his wife Suzanne to La Bastie in 1505. Pierre d'Urfé and his second wife Antoinette de Beauveau entertained the young couple with great magnificence.[21]

If to Pierre d'Urfé we attribute the initial step in the artistic influence of the family, to Claude his son and the grandfather of Honoré must be given still greater credit for popularizing these arts in his native province. We may even claim for him the establishment of the school of La Bastie which anticipated the greater renaissance of Fontainebleau, for the chateau of the d'Urfé was a great artistic center in the sixteenth century before becoming the scene of a remarkable literary activity.[22] This artistic cult was partly due to the training Claude received in the years he spent at court as the friend of Francis I, the great patron of the arts. In his several journeys to Rome he brought back with him many objects of an artistic nature, and in addition secured the services of many skilled workmen

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peut-être même est-elle l'oeuvre de l'artiste qui avait fait le superbe tombeau de bronze aujord'hui détruit de cette même Catherine, dans l'église de la Bâtie:" *Art et Archéologie dans le département de la Loire*, p. 96. This statue is still in the church of Champoly as testified by the Abbé Comby, pastor, in a letter to Rev. Dr. Butin. St. Pierre d'Urfé the parish in which the old castle was situated was suppressed at the time of the Concordate.

[20] Pierre began a work so artistically achieved by his son Claude. The spirit moving him to this was significant of the change which had come over France partly as a result of the Italian campaign of Charles VIII. It was a mental turning from the feudalism already physically dead but whose spirit was still struggling with the new ideas. The plan of the construction of La Bastie is symbolical of the slowness of the change for this pleasant Renaissance country house was still surrounded by the protecting moat of feudal days.

[21] According to a record preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the newly introduced art of printing found one of its first patrons in Pierre d'Urfé. The document consisting of twenty-four pages badly printed in Gothic type is one of the rare specimens of the early attempts in this direction and refers to the interment of Charles VIII at which Pierre was one of the presiding officers. The title of the work runs:—"Ordonnance Faicte par Messire Pierre durfe chevalier grant escuyer de France ainsi que audit grant escuyer appartient de faire pour lenterrement du corps du bon roy Charles huytiesme que Dieu absoille. Et ladicte ordonnance leue et auctorizee par monseigneur de la Trimoille premier chambellan et lieutenant du Roy a accompaigner ledit corps. Et aussi par le conseil de messeigneurs les chambellans et autres quil avoit avecque luy;" quoted by Bernard, *Les d'Urfé en Forez*, p. 34.

[22] Cf. Soultrait-Thiollier, *La Bastie*, p. 39.

whom he employed on his home, so that La Bastie was considered one of the finest examples of Renaissance workmanship in southeastern France.

An important event in the artistic history of the family was the marriage in 1532, of Claude d'Urfé with Jeanne de Balzac, daughter of Pierre de Balzac, baron d'Entragues, and Anne Malet de Graville; for it was through this alliance that the library of this remarkable woman came to La Bastie. It formed the foundation of one of the most valuable and artistic collections in France.[23] His marriage brought Claude also into close relationship with some of the more prominent leaders of the French Renaissance, while his official duties abroad enabled him to become familiar with the best aspects of the movement in Italy. His wife, Jeanne d'Entragues, was one of the most cultured women of a family whose reputation in that respect was undeniable.[24]

Claude d'Urfé was a true son of the Renaissance, possessing all the requisite qualities of a Mecenas; wealthy, cultured, esteemed by royalty, passionately devoted to the arts and letters, he was on intimate terms with the scholars and poets who frequented the court of Francis I and Henry II. He bequeathed to his posterity that devotion to those pursuits which was to be their distinguishing mark for the next century.[25]

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[23] At the death of Anne de Graville, her library passed into the possession of Claude d'Urfé her son-in-law. It consisted of about two hundred MSS. of rare workmanship. For a long time the collection remained at La Bastie continually increased by the family. But in the eighteenth century, owing to the poverty of some of its members, many volumes were sold. The Duke de la Vallière acquired a large number of them and they were later purchased by the Bibliothèque Nationale. The MSS. from the library of La Bastie are for the most part folio volumes, bound in green velvet with ornaments of copper bearing the initials C. I. (Claude, Jeanne) and the motto UNI. It will be interesting to recall that the only authentic document in French relative to the trial and rehabilitation of Jeanne d'Arc was preserved in this library. It is technically known as the Manuscrit d'Urfé. Here was found also a remarkable anthology of the poems of the Troubadours, very complete, probably the only one of its kind in existence. It is from the same library that the MS. of the voyage of Marco Polo has come to the Bibliothèque Nationale; see Reure, *Les Deux Procès de Jeanne d'Arc et le Manuscrit d'Urfé*, in L'Université Catholique, XIV, 15 juin 1894; Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 13; Saint-Georges, *Achille-François d'Urfé*, pp. 56-57.

[24] Louis Malet de Graville, the maternal grandfather of Claude's wife was a famous lover of art. He collected for his castle of Marcousis, paintings, tapestries and jewels in which he was a connoisseur. Charles de Chaumont d'Amboise, nephew of the Cardinal, one of the prime movers in the revival of art, had married the other daughter of Louis Malet, Jeanne, and aunt to the wife of Claude d'Urfé, so that his connection with the de Gravilles brought Claude into contact with a supremely cultured circle. Anne de Graville, Claude's mother-in-law, had a considerable reputation for learning. She was known as a reader of Classical and Italian literature, was a poetess of ability, and translated into French verse the *Teseide* of Boccaccio; see Tilley, *The Dawn of the French Renaissance*, p. 155.

[25] In his office as representative of Henry II, Claude was a witness of the proceedings of the Council of Trent then holding session at Bologna. He was again ambassador for the same king to the Holy See from 1549 until 1553, in the respective pontificates of Paul III and Julius III. In this capacity he was present at the conclave in which the latter pontiff was elected to the chair of St. Peter. Henry II was so well pleased with the way his duties of representative were fulfilled that on his return from Rome he created Claude Chevalier of his order, then Chamberlain, finally advancing him to the

We may be allowed to give here a brief description of the chateau of La Bastie as it was left by Claude d'Urfé and as it existed in the days of his grandson, Honoré. Only a shadow of this glorious home remains today, the spoliation begun by the notorious Marquise d'Urfé was completed towards the end of the eighteenth century when the manor with the rest of its treasures passed out of the hands of the family.[26]

The main part of the chateau of La Bastie was built in the fourteenth century; it was gradually enlarged and finally completed and decorated by Claude d'Urfé. For this reason it was somewhat lacking in architectural unity and at the time of Honoré d'Urfé was formed of three parts, a central building facing the South and two wings extending to the North each terminated by a tower and overlooking a court, the whole being surrounded by a moat showing the persistence of feudal ideas. The chateau also lacked unity of style, the older elements were Gothic as can be seen from the vaulted doors and the jutting edges separating the different stories. These older parts were retained by such a lover of the new art as Claude d'Urfé, for to remove them would have meant the dismantling of the building, and besides, the love for the older national style was still strong in the hearts of the people and could not be suddenly eradicated. Claude d'Urfé decided to adapt the tastes and methods of the Renaissance to the old structure, modifying it whenever feasible and embellishing it with Renaissance ornaments.[27] For this work he succeeded in securing the services of some of the best artists both French and Italian.

Among the additions in the new style which Claude added to the architectural scheme of La Bastie is the beautiful gallery

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position of governor of the royal family in 1553. Claude still occupied this position at the time of the marriage of his young charge, Francis II to the ill-fated Mary, Queen of Scots; Bernard, *Les d'Urfé en Forez*, p. 51.

[26] Jeanne-Camus de Pontcarré, widow of the Marquis Christophe de la Rochefoucauld d'Urfé acquired the estates of La Bastie through her husband who was the grandson of Françoise d'Urfé. In her insane search for the philosopher's stone she sold some of the treasures of the chateau to satisfy the demands of her unworthy favorite, the adventurer Casanova. On the Marquise d'Urfé see Compigny des Bordes, *Casanova et la Marquise d'Urfé;* Saint-Georges, *Achille-François de Lascaris d'Urfé*, pp. 133 ff. Many of the artistic treasures of La Bastie are now in America: see Chagny, *Un Ligueur*, p. 24. Soultrait-Thiollier, *La Bastie d'Urfé*, pp. 10 ff.; *Journal des Débats*, Nov. 1, 1907.

[27] A full description of La Bastie is given in the great work of Soultrait-Thiollier, *La Bastie d'Urfé;* also Broutin, *Les Châteaux Historiques du Forez*, Vol. II, pp. 9 ff; Bernard, *Les d'Urfé en Forez*, passim; Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 10 ff. On the gradual introduction of Italian ideas into France, see Courajod, *Les Origines de la Renaissance en France;* Thiollier (F. and N.), *Art et Archéologie dans le Département de la Loire;* Thiollier (N.), *Au Pays de l'Astrée* (Agenda, P. L. M. 1925); Reinach, *The Story of Art;* Tilley, *The Dawn of the French Renaissance*, p. 155. Tilley makes special reference to La Bastie and the d'Urfé family.

applied by Antoine Jonillyon, his architect[28] to the west wing in the inner court. This gallery was supported from the ground floor by twelve vaulted arches sustained by square pilasters crowned with Ionic capitals. These in turn bore an entablature or wide frieze on a level with the first floor. On this latter a colonnade of twelve graceful fluted columns with Corinthian capitals supported a frieze of wood ornamented with medallions which was terminated by a projection supporting the roof of the gallery.[29]

On this loggia—in Renaissance parlance—twelve feet wide, opened three doors of richly carved wood framed in marble with funneled pilasters supporting an escutcheon surrounded by garlands. The arms of the family appeared on several intervening spaces of the vaulting. The upper gallery led to a graceful turret terminating the right wing of the building. A gentle incline led from the gallery to the court below. The balustrade was finished at the base by a pedestal bearing on its front an antique bas-relief representing a warrior with his trophies. On this rested a sphinx of black marble bearing the inscription: Sphingem habe domi.[30]

The central building of the chateau facing the drawbridge was relieved of monotony by five smaller arches similar to those of the west gallery. Two of the pilasters of this arcade bore marble busts draped in antique costume. These arches were filled in by a grating of gilt wrought iron imitating the regular twinings of the vine with foliage and fruit. Through this artistic network the light penetrated to the grotto on the inside. With the chapel the grotto occupied the first floor of the main building. The entablements of this arcade continued those of the west wing. The windows of the first and second stories were vaulted with fluted pilasters harmonizing admirably with the principal scheme of the ornamentation. The left wing, facing the gallery, was rather severe having six semicircular doors, entablements, pilasters, each surmounted by an oeil-de-boeuf. Four steps led to these doors giving entrance

[28] Antoine Jonillyon (?-1558) the master-mason, as he is modestly called in his epitaph in the church of Saint-Etienne-le-Molard, was a native of Forez. He was particularly successful in combining the new Italian style on an older Gothic background; see Soultrait-Thiollier, *La Bastie*, p. 33.

[29] Soultrait-Thiollier, *La Bastie*, pp. 16 f.

[30] The sphinx has disappeared but most of the features described so far still remain as ascertained from photographs secured during the preparation of this work. The meaning of the sphinx has given rise to much speculation; see Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 11; Montégut, *En Bourbonnois et en Forez*, p. 257.

to the large halls or offices of the chateau reserved for guards, familiars and domestics. Below were large cellars; above, carefully guarded by the major-domo were granaries in which provisions necessary for the household were kept.[31]

The chief beauty of La Bastie lay, however, in its interior decorations. Two rooms were particularly worthy of notice, the grotto and the chapel. The grotto which opened into the chapel was a square room adorned with large statues of the Four Seasons of which only Autumn now exists.[32] Here were also a Mercury with wand and winged feet, tritons and naiads emerging from earthern waterpipes from which sprays of water could be made to play continually in the room. The description of the grotto is faithfully reproduced in several passages in the *Astrée*.[33] The panelled ceiling, the walls and the pavement were entirely covered with multicolored flat stones resembling the scales of a fish and disposed in mythological and animal figures. The grotto with its decoration in a prevailing yellow from the depths of which emerge the above mentioned figures in bluish grey, white and red was an undeniable piece of Italianized workmanship. There is little doubt moreover, that the position of the grotto close to the chapel and its scheme of ornamentation were purposely intended by Claude d'Urfé as an embodiment of his philosophy of life. The key to it is found in an inscription on the walls of the private oratory adjoining the chapel, *mens sana in corpore sano;* the grotto or bath room signifies the great physical means of man's well being through the cleansing property of water, while the chapel is the place where the purifying of his soul is effected.[34]

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[31] Broutin, *Châteaux historiques*, II, p. 16.

[32] By its play of muscle this piece strikingly recalls the work of Michel Angelo.

[33] *Astrée*, I, 2; I, 11, etc.

[34] "L'homme est composé de deux substances, un corps et une âme, dont chacune requiert ses médecins et son hygiène propre. La nature est le médecin du corps, Dieu est le médecin de l'âme; le moyen d'hygiène du corps est le bain, le moyen d'hygiène de l'âme est la prière et le sacrifice. Voilà pourquoi la salle des bains est contigüe à la chapelle, c'est qu'elle est le lieu de purification du corps, comme la chapelle est le lieu de purification de l'âme. La salle des bains est le vrai vestibule de la chapelle, que dis-je? c'est aussi une chapelle, quoique d'un ordre inférieur, car nul ne saurait porter à Dieu une âme digne de lui, si cette âme est la prisonnière languissante d'un cachot souillé au lieu d'être la radieuse habitante d'un joyeux logis. Le respect que la morale nous enjoint d'avoir pour notre corps constitue un véritable culte; . . . Ce n'est donc pas par fantaisie que cette salle présente l'aspect d'un petit sanctuaire païen; on a voulu qu'elle eût ce caractère. Voyez plutôt: est-ce que la décoration de cette salle ne raconte pas les miracles permanents par lesquels la nature entretient en nos corps la santé? Que veulent dire ces deux allégories en rocaille représentant, l'une un jeune arbrisseau qui se transforme en homme, l'autre un vieillard qui se retient à la terre par de robustes racines, sinon que l'hygiène, qui fait épanouir la jeunesse avec un luxe de beauté et une splendeur de pureté qu'elle ne connaîtrait pas sans ce respect de la nature, prolonge les jours du vieillard et le conserve à la terre bien après le terme ordinaire de la vie? Et ces statues des saisons, qui marquaient allégoriquement les quatre périodes de la vie de l'homme, que voulaient-elles dire,

But the jewel of La Bastie was its marvelous chapel. We may suspect some exaggeration in the estimate which Anne d'Urfé formed of its beauty when he called it the most beautiful chapel in France, but this opinion is shared by almost all the art critics. Mario Proth says that there was not a spot as large as the hand where talent had not endeavored to produce a masterpiece.[35] We have seen that Claude was the representative of Henry II at the Council of Trent. It was the inspiration received there that moved him to erect this admirable monument, sometimes styled the Council of Trent in pictures, where[36] the whole decorative scheme is centered around the doctrine of the Real Presence, either as symbols or as types. In the chapel of La Bastie three arts attained their highest point of excellence, inlaid work, mosaic and sculpture, while others reached a superior level. Italian influence held undisputed sway in this room. For eleven years artists from Italy labored with patience and skill with such success that the chapel is classed among the officially recognized monuments of the early French Renaissance.[37] The woodwork around the walls was delicately carved and ornamented with a series of tableaux in the most exquisite inlaid work executed by a Dominican lay-brother, Damian of Bergamo.[38] On the stained glass windows lending additional beauty to the interior, were represented angel musicians, some singing, others playing the instruments known at the time. The posing of the groups was graceful. Here appeared also the monogram IC and the word UNI surrounded by the symbol of the Trinity. Between the groups were inscribed Biblical verses sung by the angels, taken from psalms, 114, 116 and

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sinon que la nature accompagne l'homme à travers toutes les étapes de son pélerinage, et que c'est elle qui lui fournit également des attraits pour le plaisir, des forces pour l'activité et des langueurs pour le repos?" Montégut, *En Bourbonnais et en Forez*, pp. 246 f.

[35] Broutin, *Les Châteaux historiques*, II, pp. 18 ff; Soultrait-Thiollier, *La Bastie*, pp. 28 ff.; Fodéré, *Narration historique des Couvents de S. François*, in Bernard, *Les d'Urfé*, pp. 471 ff; Montégut, *En Bourbonnais et en Forez*, pp. 247 ff.

[36] "La chapelle est une glorification sous vingt formes différentes de la doctrine de la transsubstantiation formulée par le concile de Trente, et une glorification presque matérielle à force d'être précise, à force de vouloir démontrer, de faire toucher la réalité du mystère. On voit que Claude d'Urfé n'avait pas perdu son temps au concile, et qu'il avait suivi ses discussions en auditeur recueilli. Comme le corps se nourrit de la substance de la nature, l'âme se nourrit de la substance de Dieu, et c'est là ce que dit l'inscription latine . . . qui se déroule autour de la chapelle." Montégut. *En Bourbonnais et en Forez*, pp. 247 ff.

[37] Broutin, *Les Châteaux historiques*, II, pp. 18 f; Soultrait-Thiollier, *La Bastie*, pp. 25 f. Many details of this superb chapel are mentioned in the *Astrée*, thus, the font of black marble, which, transferred to the temple of the Vestals serves as a receptacle for the "eau lustrale" of the Druids, *Astrée*, III, 2, etc.

[38] See Chagny, *Un Ligueur*, p. 26 note 2, who observes that the large picture of the Last Supper bearing the same name is dated 1548.

148.[39] The altar, elegant and graceful in design, was in harmony with the rich decoration of the rest of the chapel. The table was of black marble with white bas-reliefs. On the front panel was represented the sacrifice of Abraham, on the left David and Goliath and on the right the hosts of Pharaoh engulfed in the Red Sea. Vigor, movement, perspective, and relief, added to boldness of conception, all the requisites for a genuine masterpiece were displayed in their execution. The altar steps were of white porcelain and of such artistic value that they were displayed in the Louvre where they attracted the attention of specialists to the ceramic production of the sixteenth century in France.[40]

The system of symbolism so characteristic of the Byzantine and Gothic and often carried over into the new style was very completely realized in the chapel of La Bastie: Faith, holding a cross and a flaming heart stood near the altar, while on the opposite side was Justice armed with a sword. This mingling of mythological subjects with Christian attributes was still further evident in the caryatids, and also in the figures playing musical instruments whose bodies were lost in the intertwining foliage a favorite theme with the artists of Urbino who borrowed it from Byzantine art.[41] The frescoes of the chapel are attributed to the Italian painter Innocent of Imola who was surprisingly adept in the style of Raphael. The scenes were from the Old Testament and intended as types of the Blessed Sacrament.[42]

Opening into the chapel was a small oratory used by members of the family. It was decorated in the same way as the chapel proper and the marquetry work was probably by the artist whose name is signed there, Francisci Orlandini Veronensis, 1547.[43]

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[39] These windows are now in the possession of the Baron de Rothschild but without the illustrative psalms, an omission destroying their symbolical meaning. Some authorities have attributed the design of these gems to Jean Cousin, but Soultrait while admitting them to be the work of a French artist does not find any resemblance between them and this master; see Soultrait-Thiollier, *La Bastie,* p. 32.

[40] It is now generally admitted that the ceramic work of La Bastie was done by Masseot Abaquesne, a Frenchman learned in the art of majolica painting, who lived in Rouen. He had mastered all the secrets of tilemaking and his ability as designer was equal to the best majolists of Faenza or Urbino as the pavements of La Bastie prove; see Solon, *The Old French Faience,* p. 61. In an article contributed to *La Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité* No. 11 and 17 in 1874, by M. Gaston le Breton, attention was called to the unmistakable Italian influence running through the whole ceramic decoration of La Bastie, recalling compositions of Giovani d'Undino, but in which there is observable a French taste in the figures and certain ornaments; cf. Soultrait-Thiollier, *La Bastie,* pp. 29 f. A subscription was opened to buy back the altar of La Bastie, but we have not been able to ascertain whether the attempt was successful or not, see *Bulletin de la Diana,* vol. I, pp. 314 f. (1880).

[41] Cf. Soultrait-Thiollier, *La Bastie,* p. 31; Broutin, *Les Châteaux hist.,* p. 31.

[42] Soultrait-Thiollier, *La Bastie,* p. 30.

[43] Soultrait-Thiollier, *La Bastie,* p. 30; Fodéré, in Bernard, *Les d'Urfé en Forez,* p. 473.

There were many other attractive features in and around La Bastie, for instance the famous library[44] and the gardens with their labyrinth of which we shall have occasion to speak later.[45]

Such was the artistic environment in which Honoré d'Urfé spent his most impressionable years, and we can easily imagine how with his idealistic nature added to the natural tendency of youth to ask for explanation, he was gradually initiated into mythological and Christian symbolism as used in art. Judging from his high-minded theory of aesthetics we infer that it was principally in the chapel of La Bastie and its oratory that was nourished the peculiar turn of mystic imagination which recognized even in the love of Celadon for Astrée a religious cult. Here he saw skilfully reproduced, scenes from the old and the New Testaments; he contemplated all the magnificence of an art capable of enchanting his imagination and raising his mind and heart to God.[46]

Claude d'Urfé died in 1558, and his eldest son Jacques inherited the estates of his father. He lived at a time very unfavorable to the arts and letters. France was torn asunder by the religious wars between Catholics and Huguenots which had reached an acute stage in 1560, when the latter had recourse to arms. They gained ground until 1564, but their excesses[47] brought a strong reaction against them. Jacques d'Urfé performed his full duty as a Catholic and as leader of the troops

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[44] See above p. 6.

[45] All that could be removed of the treasures of La Bastie have been dispersed throughout the various museums of Europe and the United States, see *Journal des Débats*, Nov. 1, 1907; Soultrait-Thiollier, *Le Bastie*, p. 33; Saint-Georges, *Achille-François d'Urfé*, p. 69.

[46] "Le drame et le roman pastoral ne lui ont fourni que des cadres; quant au tour de son imagination, aux associations des choses qu'elle préfère, combinaisons qu'elle recherche, c'est à cette salle des bains et à cette chapelle qu'il faut en demander le secret. Chacun de nous sait combien son être moral doit aux bizarres et fines impressions de l'enfance; mais de toutes nos facultés aucune ne leur doit autant que notre imagination. Enfant Honoré d'Urfé a été baigné dans cette salle mythologique, et là plus d'une fois sans doute pendant qu'il barbotait dans sa cuve de marbre comme un jeune triton, il a fait rejaillir l'eau aux visages des nymphes en riant aux éclats avec l'heureux entrain de l'innocence; il a suivi de ses petits doigts les figures des mosaïques de cailloux comme il suivait les lettres de son alphabet, il a caressé et tapoté familièrement les allégories et les dieux. On l'a fait prier dans la chapelle, et là ses jeunes regards se sont promenés avec une curiosité chercheuse sur les images peintes et sculptées qui la remplissent. Une surtout a dû particulièrement occuper ses yeux, le sacrifice de Noé, sculpté sur la face de l'autel, devant lequel on le faisait agenouiller, et l'idée de bêtes offertes en sacrifice, d'holocaustes de chair et de sang, s'est associée à l'idée de culte dans sa tendre imagination, Puis toutes ces figures qui rattachent le mystère chrétien aux histoires de l'ancienne loi le poussaient doucement sans doute vers une antiquité religieuse toute patriarcale, toute rustique, où les prêtres étaient pâtres, où les victimes étaient tirées d'entre les bêtes des troupeaux chéris, où les campagnes rendaient des oracles divins." Montégut, *En Bourbonnais et en Forez*, pp. 255 f.

[47] On July 14, 1562, the Protestant leaders, Baron des Adrets and Poncenat (François de Boucé) took Montbrison and forced the soldiers of the little garrison to throw themselves from the top of a tower on the spears of the victors below.

of his province[48]; he took part in the battle of Cognac (1568); in 1570 he prevented Coligny from crossing the Loire and marching on Montbrison; in 1574 he completely defeated the Huguenots who were committing terrible excesses along the right bank of the Rhone. He also succeeded in preventing contending armies from marching through the Province when the trouble began at Montbrison. In 1567, Jacques had already defeated the infamous Poncenat, lieutenant of the Baron des Adrets, on a little plain south of Champoly which in commemoration of the event is popularly known as "Les Bataillouses."[49]

During the League his sons carried on the Catholic tradition of the family defending the faith until the conversion of Henry IV when they gradually made their submission to the king.

In spite of the troublous times in which Jacques d'Urfé spent his life[50] he succeeded in gathering around him at La Bastie the literary men and artists particularly numerous in Forez at that epoch. It was in contact with these that Honoré d'Urfé spent his early years, hence they had an important part in the development of his mind and the formation of his artistic temperament. True, the literary life of Forez while very intense especially in the little capital of the province, Montbrison, was not of a character remarkable enough to produce epoch-making works. We are not considering now so much the value of these works nor the celebrity of their authors as that quickening of thought and refining of language which such preoccupation supposes. Their chief value for our purpose lay in awakening a healthy rivalry in the young men, nourishing activity, giving practice in expression, and proving an incentive to really creative work. Few districts in France from 1550 to 1610, were more productive in this sense, for at least fifty authors whose books were printed could be named. A large number, it is true, were up-rooted from their native soil at an early age[51] but others as Etienne du Tronchet, secretary to Catherine de Medecis,[52] and Du

[48] Jacques d'Urfé the father of Honoré was born in 1534. A favorite at the court of France he was appointed by Henry II bailif of Forez and by Charles IX lieutenant of the same province. He likewise maintained a close friendship with the house of Savoy. In 1556 Jacques married Renée de Savoy de Lascaris, daughter of Claude de Savoy and grand daughter of Anne de Lascaris of the imperial family of Constantinople which had been largely instrumental in the introduction of the new learning into Western Europe; see *Les Comtes de Tende de la maison de Savoie*, 1889, quoted in Chagny, *Un Ligueur*, p. 27; Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 8; Bernard, *Les d'Urfé*, pp. 53 ff.

[49] Information supplied by Rev. Dr. Butin, a native of the place.

[50] He died in 1574.

[51] Among them, Papire and Jean Masson, cf. Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 14.

[52] In his *Lettres missives et familières*, du Tronchet was almost the founder in France of the epistolary style, Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 14.

Verdier[53] were often led back to Forez either by the nature of their employment, by family interests, or, like these settled in Lyons, by contiguity.[54]

The proximity of Lyons, the rival of Paris itself, and the second intellectual and artistic center of France may also account for this activity in the district of the Forez.[55]

It is a curious fact that in this period of transition before the great literary and artistic movement under Louis XIV, we search in vain for great writers at the court of Henry IV, or, in fact, within the kingdom. It was this comparatively remote corner and its neighbor, Savoy, that really gave the impetus which culminated in the Augustan age for France. A Savoyard, Guillaume Fichet, with the sanction of Louis XI introduced the art of printing which helped in disseminating the doctrines of the Renaissance.[56] The illustrious friends of Honoré d'Urfé, St. Francis de Sales and Antoine Favre, wrote the best prose of the period; and it was the son of the latter, Vaugelas, who was the greatest authority on correct speech. All these exercised a lasting influence on the life and works of d'Urfé.[57]

In reconstructing the intellectual and artistic group with which the author of the *Astrée* came into direct contact during his adolescence, perhaps the most significant is the attractive influence of the family of Judge Papon. His three sons, Jean, Loys, and Etienne lived on terms of the strictest intimacy with the d'Urfé family. Canon Loys Papon was especially well received. He was a true poet, flavored, it must be admitted,

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[53] Du Verdier, the poet, was on the most familiar terms with the family at La Bastie, and it was probably through the influence of the d'Urfé that he enjoyed the favor of Cardinal du Bellay and had the good fortune to accompany the prelate to Rome, cf. Reure, *Le Bibliographe Antoine du Verdier*, p. 13.

[54] Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 14 ff.

Nor must we neglect to mention a neighbor of Honoré, Jean Ducroset, who had been influenced by our author in his pastoral *Philocalie* and to whom, in recognition, he dedicated his work. Cf. Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 28 ff.

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"Roy des villes du monde,
Lyon, Memphis en pompe, un Cipre en voluptés,
Athène en eloquence et Corinthe en beautés,
Rome en architecture et belliqu' exercise,
Bref, Lyon pour la Ninse, un Elise en delice."
Loys Papon, *Discours à Mademoyselle M. Panfile*, p. 17.

[56] With the assistance of two German printers he set up the first printing press in the precincts of the Sorbonne in 1479. Guillaume Fichet was a student of Petrarch and transcribed his *De Vita Solitaria;* see J. Philippe, *Guillaume Fichet, sa vie, ses oeuvres*, Annecy, 1892.

[57] "Il n'est pas indifférent, pour l'honneur de la Savoie, dit avec un juste orgueil M. Avet, de rappeler que l'auteur célèbre des *Remarques sur la langue française*, que l'élégant traducteur de Quinte-Curce, que l'écrivain qui publia le premier bon livre escrit correctement en français, que l'homme de lettres enfin qui eut la gloire de fixer une langue vivante, était le fils de Favre, et qu'il fut membre de l'Académie florimontane avant de l'être de l'Académie française"; Humbert Ferrant, *Le Bien public par René Favre*, p. 16.

with the Renaissance spirit in his predilection for mythology, but of singular originality in his ideas and expressing his thoughts with great beauty and force. To Anne d'Urfé, brother of Honoré, he had been a guiding spirit in the realms of Calliope, Erato and Polyphymia.[58] Besides being a talented poet, Loys Papon was a noted connoisseur in art, his collection of rare objects being justly admired by his circle. In his home, the chateau of Goutelas, two large mantlepieces in Renaissance style decorated with fruit and sculptured figures, give evidence of his taste. There were also priceless tapestries from Flanders, and the family portraits on the walls of the chateau were introduced by Honoré d'Urfé into the *Astrée* in his description of the home of Adamas. Loys Papon admired the story of his young friend so much that he had scenes from the pages of the romance painted on the walls of his rooms.[59] Loys was doubtless a sympathetic exponent of many an artistic problem to the author of the *Astrée* somewhat as Adamas, his antitype in the novel, explained similar questions to his pupil Celadon.[60] Canon Papon was also a student and lover of music and painting so that it is reasonable to infer that Honoré by his close connection with the learned Canon received from him much light on the subject of art and symbolism.[61]

Another phase of the intellectual life of Forez quite as full of interest to our young author was the number of chateaux in the vicinity of La Bastie on which improvements to meet the necessities of the Renaissance were made in the boyhood and youth of Honoré d'Urfé. Each one of these was a school where the arts of architecture, sculpture, and what is more significant of the time, painting, were cultivated. The progress made on these homes must have furnished subject matter for many a discussion in the circle frequenting the d'Urfé home.[62]

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[58] The works of Canon Papon were collected and edited by M. N. Yemeniz, Lyons, 1857.

[59] Cf. *Oeuvres du Chanoine Loys Papon,* Preface by Guy de La Grye, p. XV. See also, Lefranc, in Revue des Cours et Conférences, 1905-1906.

[60] M. de La Grye observes that Loys Papon and not his father, Judge Papon, was the original of Adamas, the Druid priest of the *Astrée,* cf. *Oeuvres de Loys Papon,* Preface, pp. XIV ff. It was probably under the influence of his friend, Loys Papon rather than that of his father, Jean, that Honoré d'Urfé wrote the earlier drafts of the *Astrée,* see Moréri, *Grand Dictionnaire historique,* vol. 1740, Sup. p. XV; also *Oeuvres du Chanoine Loys Papon,* Preface, p. XIV ff.

[61] The exquisite miniatures with which his manuscripts are illuminated are the work of Canon Papon's own hand. In that of *Le Discours à mademoyselle M. Panfile,* there are thirty-five designs and emblems of conventional Love; *Oeuvres du Chanoine Loys Papon,* p. XXXII.

[62] To mention a few of the houses in the neighborhood of La Bastie on which reconstructions were made in the middle of the sixteenth century we select, Bouthéon,

Such was the environment which Jacques d'Urfé and Renée of Savoy had provided for their twelve children.[63] Three of the sons attained distinction in the literary world, Anne, Honoré and Antoine. The eldest, Anne,[64] equally at home with the pen and the sword, was a typical chevalier of his age. He was general of an army formed in Lyons against the League of Villains, who were defeated near Grenoble in 1580. In 1589 he was nominated lieutenant of Forez by the Duke of Nemours and three years afterwards he occupied the same position in the name of Henry IV to whose cause he had rallied. Other honors were proffered him which he refused in view of his intention of assuming ecclesiastical responsibility.[65] After the annulment of his marriage with Diane of Chateaumorand, he was ordained priest in 1599.[66]

A younger brother of Honoré, Antoine, likewise wooed the poetic muse. On the occasion of the entry of Magdeleine de la Rochefoucauld into the city of Tournon, his anagram and a long poem in her honor were much admired. He also wrote two dialogues tinged with the same subtle Platonism as is found in the *Astrée*. Antoine entered at an early age the Benedictine

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home of General La Fayette, friend of Washington, a celebrated and stately pile, described by Anne d'Urfé *Description du Forez*, reproduced in Bernard, *Les d'Urfé en Forez*, p. 448; Chênereilles, also mentioned by Anne d'Urfé, *op. cit.;* Chevrières, the rival in luxury and beauty of La Bastie, see Broutin, *Les Châteaux historiques, vol.* I, pp. 195-238.

[63] A short sketch of the life of the different members of the family is given in Bernard, *Les d'Urfé en Forez*, pp. 60-66.

[64] Called after the grandmother of Renée of Savoy, Anne de Lascaris, closely related to the Lascaris of Constantinople. Anne was a common name for the male members of the house of Lascaris and also of the house of d'Urfé; see Germa, *L'Astrée*, p. 13; Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 7.

[65] Saint-Georges, *Achille-François d'Urfé*, p. 26; Bernard, *Les d'Urfé*, pp. 100 f.; Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 44 f.; Chagny, *Un Ligueur*, pp. 84 f.

[66] As a poet, Anne d'Urfé won the praise of the great Ronsard who in a sonnet at the beginning of the volume of *Oeuvres spirituelles* of d'Urfé says:

"Poursuy doncques d'Urfé; car, ou je me deçoy,
Ou France ne verra de long temps après toy
Aucun qui joigne mieux les armes et les muses,"

quoted by Bernard, *Les d'Urfé*, p. 115.

The compatriot of Anne d'Urfé, du Verdier, remarks that the poetic spirit inspired him at the age of fifteen years, and his verses " . . . tels et si gaillards, que Pierre de Ronsard, qui en a veu, en prise grandement la façon et l'ouvrier."

In the collection of poems and hymns, entitled, *Oeuvres poetiques spirituelles et morales* of Anne d'Urfé, a remarkable anticipation of the *Paradise Lost* of Milton is to be noted, particularly in the *Hymne des Anges*, a part of which appears there, the remainder being still in manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Many ideas expressed by Anne d'Urfé appear in the work of Milton, and throughout the two poems there is a curious parallelism in the motive. Both poets view the revolt of Lucifer as a consequence of the love of God for the human race to the apparent slighting of that which he bears to the angels. While it has been maintained that Milton received inspiration for his grand epic from a piece he saw performed in an obscure Italian town, it is not impossible that he might have had access to the poems of Anne d'Urfé. At the time of Milton's visit to France (1638-1639) the *Astrée* of Honoré, his brother, was still "la folie de l'epoque" and the great publicity accorded to the work of the younger brother may have directed the attention of the English poet to the less widely known, but quite as worthy work of Anne d'Urfé. For a short discussion on the subject, see Bernard, *Les d'Urfé*, pp. 115 ff.

Order at Chaise-Dieu becoming abbot when scarcely twenty-one years old. He was killed in his twenty-third year.[67]

Honoré the one member of the family with whom we are directly concerned was destined to bring the old name into still greater renown by his *Astrée*, the culminant point reached by the family. After him there was a constant decline until towards the middle of the eighteenth century, after numerous substitutions the family became extinct.[68]

In his early years Honoré d'Urfé lived at La Bastie and when scarcely thirteen was obliged to take the vows of the Knights of Malta. Later on he was sent by his mother and his elder brother Anne together with Christopher and Antoine to the college of Tournon then under the direction of the Society of Jesus. Of his life at College we know little but he probably went through the regular curriculum of the "grand" college of Tournon.[69]

It is not our purpose here to discuss the aims and methods of Jesuit education in the sixteenth century,[70] but along with an effort to combat the Protestant heresy, it aimed at inculcating Christian virtues in their pupils. To them must be given credit for reconciling the best of humanism with the sound principles of the Gospel, and, coming into direct contact, as they did, with the aristocracy of the age, their efforts were crowned with extraordinary success.[71] It is surely more than a coincidence that most of the distinguished men of the seventeenth century

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[67] Cf. Bernard, *Les D'Urfé*, pp. 223 f.; Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 48.

[68] Achille François d'Urfé after having served with distinction in the army of La Fayette in the War for American Independence was imprisoned in La Force under the infamous "Law of Suspects," September 30, 1793, where he died five months later; cf. Saint-Georges, *Achille François d'Urfé*, pp. 341 ff.

[69] Three classes of colleges were under the direction of the Jesuits, the "little" colleges where only belles-lettres were taught, the "middle" colleges which added philosophy, mathematics and physics, and the "grands" colleges which further embraced the study of theology and Oriental languages. The college of Tournon belonged to the last class. This college founded by Cardinal Francis de Tournon, approved by Francis I in 1542, was elevated to the rank of university in 1552, and in 1561 was placed under the direction of the Society of Jesus. It was one of the most celebrated educational institutions in Southern France. "We find at Tournon," says the Chancellor de l'Hospital, "a vast and splendid school where studies are flourishing. The eldest of the Tournons having founded it at his expense and dedicated it to the Muses, enriched it with immense revenues to pay the salaries of foreign teachers, and to provide for the maintenance of children and poor young men. Youths from Dauphiné and from the extremeties of Provence come here to be formed in the arts sacred to Pallas." Iter Niceaeum, in Epistolarum libri VI, quoted by Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 20; Chagny, *Un Ligueur*, pp. 40 f.

[70] Cf. P. J. McCormick, *History of Education*, p. 251; Schwickerath, *Jesuit Education*, 1903.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century the provincial colleges could compare favorably with the University of Paris, see the interesting study of Franklin, *Paris et les Parisiens au xvie siècle*, pp. 149 ff.

[71] Previous to this, the writings of Ficino and his disciple Pico della Mirandola offered a basis of reconciliation between antiquity and Christianity, for the Platonic theories were generally regarded as containing the germ of Christian symbolism. Cf. Tilley, *The Dawn of the French Renaissance*, p. 45.

received their education at the hands of the Jesuits; thus Pierre Corneille, the father of French tragedy, was a pupil of their college at Rouen, and Molière and Bossuet were also the product of their training.

In the year 1583, shortly before he graduated, Honoré's merits were recognized by his professors at Tournon. We have the record of an entertainment given by the pupils in which the significance of aesthetic culture is evident. This was for the reception of Just Loys, Baron of Tournon, on the occasion of his marriage with Magdeleine de la Rochefoucauld. Their solemn entry into the city took place on Sunday, April 24, 1583, and was signalized by a series of brilliant festivities participated in by the College and the citizens. In the official account published later, the part played by the Jesuits and their pupils had been slighted and the faculty resolved to make known their share in the celebration. To Honoré d'Urfé they confided the task of writing a complete account. The result was *La Triomphante Entrée,* a pageant consisting of a collection of pieces composed by d'Urfé and his fellow students in honor of the newly married patron.[72] The volume, dedicated to M. de Tournon was printed in 1583.

Exhibitions of skill in dancing and fencing introduced from time to time lent a touch of color and lightness to the entertainment. Honoré describes minutely a "moresque" in which he and his brothers took part, interrupted by an invitation to his companions to sing with him "the praises of the lady and her husband" upon which all began a song "accompanied on the lute with beautiful music, the actors repeating the last half of the couplets and performing a Morris dance."[73] On the third day of the festivities the students represented an

[72] The full title of the work runs: "La Triomphante entrée de tres-illustre dame madame Magdeleine de la Rochefoucauld, espouse de hault et puissant seigneur messire Just-Loys de Tournon, seigneur et baron dudict lieu, comte de Roussillon, etc . . . faicte en la ville, et université de Tournon, le Dimenche vingt quatriesme du moys d'avril 1583, Par Messire Honoré d'Urfé, chevalier de Malte"; see Bernard, *Les d'Urfé,* p. 128. The title and plan of the entertainment may have been suggested by a similar one of Maurice Scève in honor of Henry II, printed in Lyons in 1549, see *Les Poëtes Lyonnais* (Introduction by Joseph Aynard), 1924.

[73] The "moresque" or morris was a figurative or mimic dance which enjoyed great vogue in France particularly in the fifteenth century; cf. Chagny, *Un Ligueur,* p. 43. Honoré continues: "Les Mores, sauvages et satyres s'en viennent l'espée au poing, faisans une fort plaisante entrée, demarchans à la cadance des luts, tantost s'accouplans, tantost se separans; puis tous ensemble commencent à jouer la moresque, se frappans d'accord au son des instrumens, maintenant simple, à mesure entiere, haute et basse, en carré contre deux à la fois, maintenant entre-lassés à demymesure, en rond, contre six à la fois, tantost de taille, tantost de revers, et à la parfin d'estocade, se meslans avec une merveilleuse dexterité les uns avec les autres, et neantmoins se rencontrans si bien que de dix coups ils n'en semblaient qu'un; chose beaucoup plus plaisante à veoir qu'on ne sauroit pas dire." Quoted in Bernard, *Les d'Urfé,* pp. 131 f.

epithalamium whose authorship has been attributed to Honoré d'Urfé and in which he played the part of Apollo, "vêtu d'une grande robe de taffetas cramoisie et orange, et la tête entourée d'un soleil rayonnant." On the fourth day these celebrations were brought to a close by a morality play and a pastoral.[74] Another feature of the celebration was the artistic display of odes, hymns, dialogues, anagrams, etc. written by the students and artistically embellished by them.[75]

It was during his school days at Tournon that Honoré d'Urfé acquired most of that profound erudition and elegance of style to be remarked in all his writings, and it was there, also, that his forceful imagination found the proper stimulus in the classical training he afterwards so gracefully incorporated in his *Astrée*. It may surprise modern readers of the novel that this education did not induce Honoré to give a more frankly Christian complexion to his work; for only at rare intervals does he manifest any acquaintance with the maxims of the Gospel. In this he follows the methods of many Renaissance writers who read into their pagan names and symbols a Christian meaning.[76] Besides, the story is an attempt to describe Forez before the advent of Christianity. In this historical tale there is a desire to maintain local color in the various descriptions of Druidical ceremonies,[77] yet the whole romance is filled with veiled allusions to Catholic belief and practice.[78]

Nowhere in the work of d'Urfé can be found a system of philosophy contrary to Catholic teaching. As a writer justly

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[74] See Bernard, *Les d'Urfé*, pp. 129 ff; Bonafous, *Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 99 ff.

[75] "Chose esmerveillable . . . de la peine incroyable prinse par eux à peindre leur emblèmes et énigmes, et à escrire quartre ou cinq rames de papier, dont tout estoit couvert jusques aux troncs des six arbres qui sont en ladicte cour;" quoted by Bernard, *Les d'Urfé*, p. 133.

[76] It was customary during the full tide of the Renaissance to use the forms of the ancient pagans and their mythological phraseology not so much in the spirit of paganism as to display their learning. The Blessed Virgin was spoken of as the goddess, etc. Even a Cardinal, Bembo, congratulated the Pope on being elected to the chair of Peter by the beneficence of the immortal gods! Oaths were also taken in their names. Still these men were glad to die in the bosom of the Church, for their paganism was more or less a fad of the time; see Maulde La Clavière; *The Women of the Renaissance, passim;* Paul Albert, *La Littérature française*, pp. 114 ff.

[77] In this, as in other ways, Honoré d'Urfé is an ancestor of the Romantic school of the nineteenth century in France.

[78] The *Astrée* has been charged with containing the anti-trinitarian doctrines of Michel Servet (Edmund Chevrier, in Revue chrétienne, 3e série, tome VII, pp. 226-289), an assumption which is entirely gratuitous, as indicated by the following passage from among many others scattered through the volumes of the story: "(Adamas, the high priest of the Druids speaks) . . . C'est que ces trois noms signifient trois personnes qui ne font qu'un Le Dieu Fort, Le Dieu Homme et Le Dieu Repurgeant, le Dieu fort est le pere, Le Dieu homme est le fils, et le Dieu repurgeant c'est l'Amour de tous les deux, et tous trois ne font qu'un Teutates, c'est à dire, un Dieu, et c'est à la mère de ce Dieu homme à qui nos Druides ont dedie dans l'antre des Carnutes, il y a plus de vingt siècles, un autel avec une statue d'une pucelle tenant un enfant, vous n'estes pas capable de ces hauts mysteres, et vaut mieux pour ne les profaner, que je m'en taise;" *Astrée*, II, 8, p. 417.

remarks, if Honoré left college with the tastes of a humanist, the Catholic convictions he inherited from his ancestors were still more profoundly rooted in his soul, and in the vicissitudes of life, he succeeded admirably in conforming his conduct to them. Sainte-Beuve remarked of Chateaubriand that he was an epicurean with a Catholic imagination. To apply a similar expression to the author of the *Astrée* we could say that he was a Catholic with an epicurean imagination.[79]

On the completion of his studies at Tournon he returned to La Bastie where he enjoyed the association of his literary friends. It was probably at this time that Honoré sketched the first plan of the *Astrée*.[80] As his *Sireine* and his *Astrée* are based on personal experience and reminiscences of his early life we can picture his occupations at this period in the charming account given at the beginning of the third part of the *Astrée*. There is no doubt that not later than this period and possibly earlier he became enraptured with the beauty of Astrée, Diane of Chateaumorand, his brother's wife. Both in the *Sireine* and in the *Astrée* he sings of his love and admiration for her. She was the inspiration of his poetical soul and stood in the same relation to him as Beatrice did to Dante, or Laura to Petrarch. Some time later an ecclesiastical court declared the marriage of Diane with Anne d'Urfé invalid and the vows of Honoré as a knight of Malta null and void. The marriage of Diane of Chateaumorand to Honoré d'Urfé took place in 1600.

A few years after he left College, Honoré had to abandon his ideal life on the banks of the Lignon and join in the defense of the Catholic party. In 1576, as Henri III showed himself either incapable or unwilling to defend the Catholic cause, the Catholics of Picardy formed a Holy Union or League to defend themselves against their enemies. Owing to the relative peace then prevailing, the attitude of the League remained almost entirely defensive; but in 1584, the king's brother, the Duke of Anjou, died and the right of succession passed to a Protestant, Henri of Navarre. From that time, anxiety was felt for the future, and the League made rapid strides. The Catholic party

[79] Chagny, *Un Ligueur*, p. 46.

[80] Another Forezien, Jean Ducroset, a friend and admirer of Honoré had this first sketch of the *Astrée* in his possession. His *Philocalie* is a miniature *Astrée* transferred from the banks of the Lignon to the banks of the Aix. The *Philocalie* was published in 1593; see Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 28-33.

refused to have as king the leader of the Huguenots, and under the famous council of the Sixteen strongly organized themselves. Anne d'Urfé, head of the family, had adhered to the League in 1585. The Province of Forez was greatly stirred when, after the battle of Auneau, 1587, it was traversed by Chatillon, son of Coligny, in his attempt to join the Protestant leader, Chambord. The climax was reached when Henri III, shortly after the murder of the Duke of Guise and of the Cardinal of Lorraine, in 1588, threw the Duke of Nemours and the Archbishop of Lyons into prison, 1589.[81] Indignation at the double murder and at the king's subsequent policy was general through the whole kingdom; Lyons joined the League in February, 1589, and became the center of opposition for all that section of the country, including Forez. Those who clung to Henri III first and later to Henri IV were known as the Royalists or the Politics.[82]

The activities of Honoré d'Urfé during these troublous times have been completely described by Bernard,[83] Reure,[84] and Chagny.[85] He was literally the last one to surrender to Henri IV, refusing his allegiance even after the king had abjured Protestantism in 1593. After the conversion of Henri IV, many Leaguers, realizing that the purpose of their Union had been attained, gradually came over to him; Honoré d'Urfé remained loyal to the Duke of Nemours who doubted or pretended to doubt the sincerity of Henri's conversion, and waited for the Pope to pronounce judgment, and grant absolution. This absolution was given on August 30, 1595, two weeks after the death of the young Duke of Nemours. Honoré was present at the death bed of his friend[86] and as soon as he had paid his last duties to him he returned to Forez to continue the fight against Henri IV, but owing to the treachery of some supposed

[81] Charles-Emmanuel de Savoie, duc de Nemours, half brother of the Duke de Guise, was then only 21 years old; he became the soul of resistance to Henri IV in the whole Southeast of France. Pierre d'Epinac, Archb. of Lyons, was also a great friend of the d'Urfé and was often seen at La Bastie; see Chagny, *Un Ligueur*, pp. 68 ff.

[82] Henri III was assassinated by Jacques Clément in 1589. The League has been the object of much misrepresentation. It was but human that less noble elements should creep into this movement; but on the whole, there was never an undertaking more justifiable nor more disinterested than this effort of a people to defend their faith from the attacks of an arrogant and powerful party; see Chagny, *Un Ligueur*, pp. 61-71.

[83] *Les d'Urfé*, pp. 135 ff.

[84] *Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 34 ff.

[85] *Un Ligueur*, pp. 72 ff.

[86] One of the best pages of the *Epistres Morales* is the description of the last moments of the Duke of Nemours, see the passage quoted in Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 52 ff.

friend he was thrown into prison at Montbrison.[87] During his imprisonment and under the deep emotions that stirred his soul in face of the trials that had befallen him, he wrote his *Epistres Morales,* a philosophical treatise in the form of letters to a fictitious or real friend whom he calls Agathon.[88] The first book of the *Epistres Morales* is dated from Montbrison, Sept. 24, 1595, but was printed only later.[89] He was freed probably at the beginning of 1596 and retired into the domains of the Duke of Savoy, his relative. Several reasons prevented him from going back to La Bastie. He had taken sides against his brother Anne d'Urfé when the latter made his submission to Henri IV,[90] and besides, he could not expect a gracious reception from the French king. He bought a small property at Senoy in Bugey, now in the departement of Ain, where he remained practically until his marriage to Diane de Chateaumorand, with incidental visits to Virieu-le-Grand, Chambéry, Turin and Milan. At Senoy he completed the first book of the *Savoysiade,*[91] Aug. 26, 1600; there also he wrote most of his religious poems.[92] At Senoy he finished, July 1, 1599, the *Sireine,* an episode of pastoral life in which our poet celebrated the departure of Sireine from the shepherdess Diane, his absence and his return. The *Sireine* is really a personal and allegorical work with marked relation-

[87] Honoré had already been imprisoned in Feb. 1595, but had been released on paying a ransom. We find no authority for a supposed third imprisonment at the hands of the troops of Queen Marguerite de Navarre then herself a half prisoner in the chateau of Usson; see Bernard, *Les d'Urfé,* p. 135. It is certain however that Honoré was well acquainted with the queen as were all the members of the family of d'Urfé. It may be interesting to note that the bad repute in which she was held by many, was not shared by the d'Urfé or their friends; see Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé,* pp. 77-81.

[88] Reure thinks that this friend was Gaspard de Génetines, related to the Chateumorand and a great friend of Honoré; *Honoré d'Urfé,* p. 77.

[89] In 1597, Honoré d'Urfé fell dangerously ill, entrusted the Epistres Morales to his friend, Antoine Favre, to whom he gave instructions for printing them in case of death. Favre came immediately to d'Urfé but found him convalescent. Honoré however, confirmed the permission so that the work was published in Lyons in 1598, with a dedication to Antoine Favre; see Ferrand, *Le Bien Public par Favre,* p. 8; Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé,* p. 87.

Other editions were given at a later date and with the additions of two other books; on the various editions, see Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé,* pp. 87 ff. The *Epistres Morales* are almost forgotten today, but they should not be; some even claim that they form one of the most remarkable ethical works of the sixteenth century; see Bonafous, *Etudes sur Honoré d'Urfé,* p. 116 and p. 128.

[90] Honoré had been appointed Lieutenant-General of Forez by the Duke of Nemours, while Anne held the same office from the king. Diane of Chateaumorand probably sided with Honoré against her own husband; the breach was widened and after her marriage to Anne had been declared invalid, 1599, she was married to Honoré in 1600. Anne d'Urfé then retired to the old chateau d'Urfé, entered holy orders, and after a holy life died in St. Just-en-Chevalet, where he was buried; see Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé,* pp. 92 ff.

[91] An epic celebrating the origin of the House of Savoy; see Bonafous, *Etudes sur Honoré d'Urfé,* pp. 158 ff.; Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé,* pp. 126 ff.

[92] These comprise a paraphrase of the Canticle of Canticles, Psalms, and pious verses which are not without merit; some of them were printed later at the end of the *Sireine* but most of them are still in manuscript form; see Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé,* pp. 57 ff.; Bonafous, *Etudes sur Honoré d'Urfé,* pp. 150 ff.

ship to the *Astrée*. Honoré had not yet reached the ease and the limpidity of style of his later work; yet there are some fine verses and the poem found many imitators.[93]

The reconciliation of Charles Emmanuel of Savoy to the king of France in 1599 enabled Honoré to visit his home in Forez. Consequent on certain arrangements with his brother, Jacques, who had been appointed bailiff in place of Anne d'Urfé, he received the domain of Chateauneuf, comprising the lands and chateau of Virieu-le-Grand[94] which became his favorite residence. During his sojourn at Virieu, Honoré renewed the bonds of intimate friendship with St. Francis of Sales; henceforth Saint Francis de Sales, Antoine Favre, Camus and Honoré d'Urfé are names which cannot be separated.[95]

In 1606, twenty-nine years before Richelieu organized the friends of Conrart into the French Academy, St. Francis de Sales and Antoine Favre conceived the happy thought of uniting into a literary society the numerous theologians, lawyers and humanists in and around Annecy; and "because devotion to the Muses flourished on the mountains of Savoy," Saint Francis bestowed on this society the name of Académie Florimontane with the emblem of an orange and the motto "Fleur et Fruit."[96] Under the direction of the Saint the new Academy became very democratic and offered courses in arithmetic, philosophy, politics, languages, and music. Honoré was one of the members and doubtless this further stimulated his literary and artistic efforts.

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[93] There were at least eleven editions of the Sireine. The author makes no secret of its source, the *Diana* of Montemayor; see Bonafous, *Etudes sur Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 129 ff.; Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 61. The first edition was published in 1604, see Reure, *L'Edition originale du Sireine d'Honoré d'Urfé*, Montbrison, 1915. Among the imitators of the *Sireine*, we might mention Madame Deshouillères (*Vers allégoriques à ses Enfants*: Dans ces prés fleuris, qu'arrose la Seine, etc.) who seems to have been inspired by stanzas XLVII-L of the first part of the Sireine, *Le Départ;* see lower down, in the Section "Animals in the Astrée."

[94] Now in the Departement of Ain.

[95] Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 186. In this connection we may be allowed to reproduce a passage from Camus which bears on this friendship. "Une fois notre bien-heureux Père m'estant venu visiter à Belley selon nostre coustume annuelle (car nous nous visitions tous les ans réciproquement, et chaque visite duroit une semaine entière et franche, sans conter le jour de l'arrivée ny celui du depart), monsieur d'Urfé estant lors en son chateau de Virieu, principale demeure de son marquisat, qui n'est esloigné de Belley que trois lieues, il prit la peine de nous venir voir. Sa conversation toute pleine d'attraits charmoit tous ceux qui avoient tant soit peu d'esprit pour en gouster la douceur, ses entretiens pleins d'honneur et de civilité estoient dignes de son genie. Entre autres choses il nous dit qu'il estoit venu chanter un trio, et qu'il vouloit faire le tiers en notre amitié comme il le faisoit longtemps avant que je cognusse le bien-heureux François, entre le sçavant et pieux Antoine Favre, premier president du senat de Savoy, l'un des premiers jurisconsultes de son siècle singulier amy de nostre Bien-heureux Pere. A cela nostre Bien-heureux repartit que sans faire tant de partage il valoit mieux en faire un cahier ou un quaternion d'amis, ou, pour mieux dire, reduire cette union en unité selon qu'il est escrit des premiers Chrestiens, qu'ils n'avoient tous qu'un coeur et une ame." *Esprit de St. François de Sales*, T. VI, pp. 116 ff.

[96] A short descriptive article on the Académie Florimontane was published in the *Revue Lyonnaise*, Oct. 1900; see also Ferrand, *Le Bien Public par René Favre*, pp. 15 ff.

The friendship between the Saint and Honoré d'Urfé lasted until the death of the former, December 28, 1622.[97]

After his marriage to Diane of Chateaumorand, Honoré made in her company a visit to Paris (1602-1603) during which he was restored to the royal favor. Henri IV made him "gentilhomme ordinaire de sa chambre." In the years that follow, we find Honoré and Diane now in Paris, now at Chateaumorand, now at Virieu and other places of Savoy. During this period he completed the first part of the *Astrée*, the sketch of which, as noted above, had been prepared soon after he left college.[98] In August 1607, they came to Paris probably to see to the printing of the *Astrée*, the first part of which appeared that same year, and the second part in 1610. [99] While in Paris he associated with such celebrities as Mlle. de Gournay and Cardinal du Perron, who presented him with a copy of his works. At this time also, he must have met not only Malherbe who advised him to confine himself to prose writing, but also Racan and the literary elite of the Capital. Mlle. de Gournay observes that the *Astrée* "cet opulent et plaisant tissu de nobles histoires" which serves as a "bréviaire aux Dames et aux galands de la Cour" has for its author a courtier whom his rank made very prominent at the Royal Court; *L'Ombre de la Demoiselle de Gournay*, quoted by Reynier, *Le Roman sentimental avant l'Astrée*, p. 344, note 3.

In 1610 his rehabilitation at the Court was so complete that he was sent on a very delicate mission to the Court of Savoy in Turin.[100] His reputation and fortune were now at their apogee; in 1612 he acquired the domain of Bagé and the king erected

[97] The record of a visit made by St. Francis to Chateaumorand some years before his death is still preserved. This was on the occasion of the journey of Princess Christina of France to Savoy to meet her prospective husband, Victor Amédée, Prince of Piedmont, eldest son of Charles Emmanuel. St. Francis accompanied the young Princess from Paris to the court of Savoy, and on Oct. 3, 1619 passed through Forez and was magnificently entertained by Honoré and Diane in the chateau of Chateaumorand; see Reure, *La Princesse de Piémont et S. François de Sales à Chateaumorand*, quoted by Prajoux, *Passage de S. François de Sales à Roanne*, p. 9. Honoré is also mentioned by St. Francis in a letter to a gentleman of the court of Savoy; see Ferrand, *Le Bien Public*. . . . pp. 40 f. When St. Francis died at Lyons, a controversy arose between Annecy and Lyons as to which should possess the precious remains. Louis XIII ordered them to be taken to Annecy. The funeral cortege left Lyons Jan. 18, 1623 and was a triumphal procession through the district. When it approached Saint-Rambert-en Bugey, Honoré overtook it, having made three leagues to meet it. He sank on his knees in the mud and wept bitterly over the casket of his deceased friend, praying aloud for the repose of his soul; see Charles Auguste de Sales, *Histoire du Bien-heureux François de Sales*, quoted by Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 331.

[98] See above, p. 20.

[99] Nine years elapsed before the appearance of the third part; the fourth part was published after his death by his Secretary, Baro, but was entirely written by him; the fifth and last part is the work of Baro.

[100] On this mission see Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 143 ff.

his possessions of Chateauneuf and Virieu into the Marquisate of Valromey. During the years that followed, his life with Diane was not of the happiest and although there was no breach still after 1614 they lived mostly apart, he at Virieu-Le-Grand and she at Chateaumorand; numerous visits were made, it is true, by the one to the other, but it is evident that the love of Celadon and Astrée was not as ideal as it used to be.[101]

From the year 1619, Honoré d'Urfé became again a Savoyard and again played a last brilliant role in the war of Valteline, serving in the confederate armies of France and Savoy. During this campaign he contracted the illness from which he died at Villefranche, June 1, 1625.[102]

Such are the principal features of the life of Honoré d'Urfé. It is universally admitted that he was a gentleman in the full acceptance of the term; loyal to what he considered a good cause; a lover of peace but a brave soldier when occasion required; by temperament an idealist and an artist, he inherited from his grandfather, Claude d'Urfé, his fondness for the Renaissance; reared in the splendors of La Bastie and under the influence of the literary elite of the Forez, trained by the Jesuits at Tournon, he completed the development of his mind by his associations in Paris and by his numerous travels through Italy. All these qualities and influences find their synthesis in his great cultural work, the *Astrée*, which we shall now briefly analyze.

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[101] A great deal of speculation and exaggeration has been indulged in on the question of the discord between Honoré and Diane; the most accurate and reasonable view seems to be that of Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 100 ff.; 171 ff.; 184; 332; see also Charlier, *Les Amours d'Alcidon*, p. 27.

[102] Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 351. During the last years of his life, Honoré wrote *Les Tristes Amours de Floridon Berger*, and the poem of *Silvanire* both of them parallel to episodes of the *Astrée;* on these see Reure, *ibid.* pp. 334 ff.

Chapter II.

THE ASTRÉE AND ITS INFLUENCE.

I. The Astrée.

The *Astrée* the first great modern French novel is a romance in which are developed simultaneously a half dozen long stories and at least thirty episodes. The action takes place in the native country of d'Urfé on the banks of the river Lignon[1], the period selected is the fifth century A. D., the time of the invasion of Gaul by the barbarians. Forez, which escapes these troubles, is peacefully governed by Queen Amasis and still clings to the old national religion, Druidism.[2] The country around the Lignon is inhabited by shepherds and shepherdesses who live in an atmosphere of ideal peace and happiness.[3] The idyllic life of this pastoral society attracts many knights and ladies who come to enjoy surcease from their trials and to seek direction for the future conduct of their love affairs under the guidance of the Druid, Adamas, the confidant of all. Others come from distant parts to learn their fate by gazing into the "Fountain of the truth of love," a happy invention of the author to give unity and purpose to his work. If love is sincere the image of the loved one as well as that of the lover can be discerned at the same time in the depths of this fountain.[4]

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[1] The country of the *Astrée* is a little triangle, at the apexes of which are Montbrison, Feurs and l'Hôpital-sous-Rochefort, and the center is La Bastie. The description of this little spot given in the *Astrée* is well known, being one of the masterpieces of seventeenth century French prose: "Aupres de l'ancienne ville de Lyons, du costé du Soleil couchant il y a un pays nommé Forests, qui en sa petitesse contient ce qui est de plus rare au reste des Gaules: car estant divisé en plaines et en montaignes les unes et les autres sont si fertiles, et situées en un air si temperé, que la terre y est capable de tout ce que peut desirer le laboureur. Au cœur du pays est le plus beau de la plaine, ceinte comme d'une muraille, des monts voisins et arrosée du fleuve de Loyre qui prenant sa source assez pres de là, passe presque par le milieu non point encor trop enflé ny orgueilleux, mais, doux et paisible. Plusieurs autres ruisseaux en divers lieux la vont baignant de leurs claires ondes: mais l'un des plus beaux est Lignon, qui vagabond en son cours, aussi bien que douteux en sa source, va serpentant par ceste plaine depuis les hautes montaignes de Cervières et de Chamusel, jusques à Feurs où Loire le recevant, et luy faisant perdre son nom propre, l'emporte pour tribut à l'ocean." *Astrée*, I, 1, p. 37 f.

[2] On the question of Druidism and Christianity in the *Astrée* see Reure, *La Vie et les Oeuvres d'Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 239 ff.

[3] Lévrault points out an analogy between the pastoral quality of *As You Like It* of Shakespeare and that of the *Astrée* of d'Urfé, cf. *Le Roman*, p. 25, note 1.

[4] "Vous sçavez quelle est la proprieté de ceste eau, et comme elle declare par force les pensées plus secrettes des Amants: car celuy qui y regarde dedans, y voit sa Maistresse, et s'il est aimé, il se voit aupres, et si elle en aime quelqu'autre, c'est la figure de celuy

The principal story is that of Celadon. He loves the shepherdess Astrée who believing him to be unfaithful bids him depart from her presence. In despair at her command Celadon throws himself into the river Lignon. Saved by the princess Galatée he resists the love she manifests towards him and remains true to Astrée. Nevertheless he does not dare to present himself before Astrée except in disguise until she revokes the sentence of banishment. Finally when the fidelity of her lover is proved by the "Fountain of the truth of love" she recalls him and all ends happily. The trial of her lover is prolonged throughout four long volumes, in the course of which the reader is entertained by other adventures, notably the noble love of Sylvandre for Diane and the inconstancy of the humorous Hylas. In this novel, love is the universal malady, none escape its toils. Sylvandre, the idealist, is a victim as well as Celadon, Hylas, and the others. This universal love is, according to d'Urfé, "honneste amitie," lawful love, always accompanied with respect; it exacts of the feminine characters a great reserve and purity, of their male admirers enduring fidelity, and supposes in all the recognition of the fact that reason and will are the special attributes of the human being. Even though living a simple life close to nature the shepherds of the *Astrée* are not by any means rustic in manners. All characters speak the language and comport themselves as members of refined society. These creations of the pen of d'Urfé are adepts in the art of conversation, poets and musicians, and when occasion arises, can exchange the shepherd staff for the sword. They are enlightened on the most abstruse subjects and discuss philosophical problems concerning Truth, Goodness and Beauty with scholastic acumen.

Unlike his predecessors from whose works he borrowed[5]

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la qui s'y voit." *Astrée*, I, 3, p. 153. This imaginative fountain is a beautiful allegory based on the theory that love tends to unite souls so that they seem to be merged into one personality, and the thoughts of the one are reflected by the other. "L'union et la jouissance, c'est le but où tend l'amour chez les bergers du Lignon, chez les disciples de Saint François de Sales." Strowski, *Saint François de Sales*, p. 413. The ideal of love upheld by d'Urfé is essentially opposed to that advocated by such writers as Montaigne. Honoré has depicted in his romance a whole hierarchy of loves, culminating in its most perfect mystic expression in the characters of Celadon and Astrée, Sylvandre and Diane. In the *Introduction to a Devout Life*, St. Francis de Sales has a theory of love similar—not identical—to that of the *Astrée*, but of course its object is not a mere creature but the Creator Himself, see Strowski, op. cit. supra, p. 408 ff; Wright, *History of French Literature*, p. 347.

[5] The principal sources of the *Astrée* are the *Amadis* of Gaul, the *Aminta* of Tasso, the *Arcadia* of Sannazar, and the *Diana enamorada* of Montemayor, etc. Cf. Bonafous, *Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 221 ff; Germa, *L'Astrée*, pp. 100-148; Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 268 ff; Lefranc, Sources de l'Astrée, in *Revue des Cours et Conférences*, 14 dec. 1905.

d'Urfé has had little recourse to the marvelous. His characters do not seek the effect of magic or preternatural intervention, interest is centered rather in the drama enacted in the human soul where he reveals the conflict taking place between opposing passions.[6] A touch of originality is added by the definiteness of the scene of the narrative. D'Urfé being a realistic idealist no longer introduces his audience into a mysterious and unreal Arcadia as did the author of the *Amadis* in the geographical location of his story. In the *Astrée* the background of the romance is localized and reinforces our sense of the reality of the incidents. The district of Forez, the home of his ancestors, is presented with an accuracy of description marking a wholesome change in the history of the pastoral. Frenchmen were beginning to take a legitimate pride in the scenery of their own country arising from a newly awakened sense of patriotism. The author of the *Astrée* was one of the first to sound this note, an obligation acknowledged by him in the Preface to the first part of the work.[7]

Nevertheless, the greatest claim to originality in the book does not lie in the subject treated, nor in its pastoral quality, nor even in the form of its composition—conversations, letters, poetry and prose—but in the broad interpretation of life which the writer suggests. His is the harmonious symmetry of the dramatist who dextrously weaves the complicated threads of multitudinous episodes, with their innumerable digressions, in which he never loses himself and never leaves a solution to chance. The same character appears again and again on the scene thus preserving a close-knit unity through the whole work. He surpasses his predecessors, too, in character drawing, in the introduction of a refined element of humor and in the high social aim of his romance which constitute him a worthy forerunner of Racine and Marivaux.[8] Recognizing this variety in

[6] The only exception to this is the episode of Sylvanire which hinges entirely on a magic mirror given by Tirinte (*Astrée*, IV, 3). The cure of Celidée leans toward the improbable. *Astrée*, III, 11.

[7] "Que si quelqu'un me blasme de t'avoir choisi un Theatre, peu renommé en l'Europe, t'ayant esleu le Forests, petite contrée, . . . responds leur ma Bergere, que c'est le lieu de ta naissance, que ce nom de Forests sonne je ne sçay quoy de champestre, et que le pays est tellement composé, et mesme le long de la riviere de Lignon, qu'il semble qu'il convie chacun à y vouloir passer une vie semblable . . . Nous devons cela au lieu de nostre naissance et de nostre demeure, de le rendre le plus honoré et renommé qu'il nous est possible." *Astrée*, I (L'Autheur à la Bergere Astrée).

[8] In the "Avis au lecteur" in the fourth part of the *Astrée*, Baro, the editor of the work, informs the reader that Honoré d'Urfé conceived the book as an immense pastoral tragi-comedy of five acts and sixty scenes!

the *Astrée,* Perrault exclaims, "There is ten times more originality in d'Urfé's work than in the Iliad."[9]

D'Urfé was, moreover, the first to differentiate type from type in accentuating various traits peculiar to each so that his characters are real living personalities. In this keen analysis of emotion, Celadon the perfect lover is imbued with a touch of mysticism in his attitude towards Astrée, object of his affection, for when banished from her presence he erects a temple in her honor and devotes himself unceasingly to the task of purifying his soul from all coarseness. Astrée, on the contrary, is a curious combination of vanity, caprice and virtue; of an imperious, suspicious and jealous nature she is not at all the ideal creature of the older pastorals. With the self-sacrificing but lacrymose Celadon, the author contrasts Sylvandre, the philosopher and Platonist, whose high theories elevate the tone of the whole romance above a mere love tale. Diane the complement of the latter, the cultivated intellectual woman of the French salon, is much more sympathetically drawn than the heroine Astrée.[10] Among many other types we may mention the graceful laughing Phylis, a picture as true of the modern French girl as it was of her prototype of the seventeenth century. He depicts Galatée as a haughty and fickle woman, Stella, a mingling of coquetry and frivolity always shirking responsibility. The author opposes the generosity of Ergaste to the violence of Damon, and the inconsolable Tyrcis to the chivalrous Lindamor.[11] The masterpiece of d'Urfé is Hylas who represents the voice of the sceptic against all the high mysticism of the principal characters. His careless mocking laugh furnishes an excellent foil for the metaphysics of Sylvandre and gains the immediate sympathy of the reader. It is not difficult to trace the evolution of Hylas through the earlier stories. He bears some relationship to Saffredont of the *Heptameron,* and Galaor in the *Amadis;* Belleforest has lightly sketched him, he is Pamphilus in the *Arcadia* of Sidney. But

[9] *Hommes illustres,* article d'Urfé.

[10] This secondary couple particularly interested J. J. Rousseau who made a special trip to Forez in order to see the spot where Sylvandre and Diane gave their high code to their companions, cf. *Confessions,* I, 4.

[11] The different passions are studied in the Astrée, ambition is incarnate in Polemas, jealousy in Astrée and Lycidas, maternal tenderness in Amasis, chivalrous valor in Euric, brutality in Gondebaud. Adamas personifies prudence, Hylas inconstancy in love. In this analysis of the emotions the novel preludes the classical literature of the seventeenth century in which questions of morality and sentimental psychology predominate. Cf. Lefranc; *Le Roman* (Revue des Cours et Conférences, 1905).

in the *Astrée* he stands forth in a new light, a feudal baron with the inimitable traits of the Gaul deftly filled in.

Much discussion has been aroused as to the identity of the characters of the romance, many critics declaring that under fictitious names Honoré d'Urfé designated real court personages of his time.[12] In the seventeenth century few of his contemporaries doubted that d'Urfé intended the work to be an allegory of his age, and the tendency to-day is to recognize the truth of this opinion.[13] The author merely changed the time and place of the incident to afford a thin disguise, and sometimes divided a complex character between two personages in his work, thus Diane and Astrée represent the wife of Honoré, while Sylvandre and Celadon depict himself at different epochs of his life.[14] The discovery and the application of these allusions formed one of the delights of the readers of the novel in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the first part of the *Astrée,* Honoré disclaims any intention of writing a story with a key, but even in these early volumes he portrays under the character of Alcippe, one of his ancestors, Pierre d'Urfé. From the time of the publication of the first two parts (1607-1610) until the third which appeared about 1619,[15] the author was in close touch with court life. His duties as "gentilhomme ordinaire de la chambre du roi" brought him often to Fontainebleau. To one of his habits of observation, the time spent in such close proximity to life at court was probably utilized in studying the traits of the members of the Queen's entourage in order to incorporate them in his romance. This fact may also account for the delay in publishing the eagerly awaited third part.

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[12] According to Lefranc, without a key to the characters, the *Astrée* would be in many places inexplicable, for a mere literary explanation is not sufficient. The concurrence of history as given in the *Mémoires* of the reign of Henry IV is necessary to understand many incidents related by d'Urfé, cf. *Le Roman* (in *Revue des Cours et Conférences,* 1905).

[13] Charlier, *Les Amours d'Alcidon,* pp. 50 ff.; Wright, *A History of French Literature,* p. 286; Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé,* pp. 261 ff.

[14] The identity of the principal characters of the *Astrée* is supposed to be as follows: Galatée is Queen Marguerite of Valois; Issoure, the chateau of Usson in Auvergne where she was sent in banishment; Euric is Henry IV; Daphnide, Gabrielle d'Estrées; Alcidon, the Duke of Bellegarde, Grand Ecuyer of France; Thorismond, King Henry III; Delie, Diane d'Estrées, wife of the Marechal Balagny and sister to the Duchess of Beaufort; Clarinte, the Princess of Conty, whose story also comes under the characters of Milgarde, Chrisanthe and Florian; Calidon, the Prince of Condé and Celidée his wife; Hylas and Amentor, the Duke of Mayenne, killed at the siege of Montauban; Periander and Alcire, the Duke of Sommerive; Florice, the lady of Beaumarchais; Dorinthe, the Demoiselle Pajot, etc. Taken from *Le Grand Dictionnaire historique,* Louis Moréri, Article d'Urfé, see also, Michaud, *Biographie générale,* Urfé. A different key and a more allegorical view is given by Montégut, *En Bourbonnais et en Forez,* pp. 261 f.

[15] Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé,* p. 217.

In this fiction, long meditated and patiently elaborated, the composition of which lasted over a quarter of a century, d'Urfé puts not only his own life, but what is more noteworthy, he has given voice to almost all the aspirations of his time and has left a fairly complete picture of a society tired of thirty years of civil war, now hungering for rest, for tenderness and for an ideal. "This obscure provincial," remarks M. Morillot, "composed an almost universal book summarizing the whole intellectual and sentimental life of an epoch. . . . One might say that the society of his time collaborated with him in it, and it is precisely this fact which makes such a work unique."[16]

The importance of the *Astrée* will be readily recognized when we consider that it stands at the juncture of the two confluents profoundly influencing French literature, the Italian and the Spanish pastorals, and the salient points of which d'Urfé combines in his great work.[17] In addition to the fact that it is the first modern French novel, initiating that literature to be later carried on by Gomberville, Calprenède, and Scudéry, the publication of the *Astrée* is of outstanding importance, being the point of departure of the history of the new literature as it is the product of all anterior literary efforts in the realm of the bucolic.[18]

From this brief analysis it can easily be seen that the *Astrée* is much more than a novel, and that the introduction of concrete characters is merely a cloak for a didactic work. It is a psychological and philosophical examination of love and friendship; of beauty and art according to the theories of the neo-Platonists; it is a compendium of Renaissance learning; a historic work in which Gaul of the fifth century is described in conformity with the best documents then available and which the author studied seriously enough to gain for himself in the succeeding ages the title of historian.[19] As a novel it is many sided in its interest. It is, as we have seen, a novel with a key where under pastoral names several recent experiences are recounted. It is a romance of adventures from which for some time after many of the subjects of tragi-comedy were extracted. It is a romance

[16] *Le Roman* in Petit de Julleville, vol. IV, p. 413.
[17] Marsan, *La Pastorale dramatique française*, p. 171.
[18] Charlier, *Les Amours d'Alcidon*, p. 33 f.
[19] Vianney in Bedier, *Histoire de la Littérature Française*, vol. I, p. 228 f.

of chivalry in which the spirit of the Amadis again comes to life. It is a pastoral in which we find mingled with the Spanish souvenirs of Montemayor, reminiscences of the Italian *Aminta* of Tasso. Lastly the *Astrée* is identified in an especial way with the sentimental novel which it enlarges, deepens and complicates. In breadth of handling, in variety of subject and unity of interest Lefranc compares the *Astrée* to the work of Honoré de Balzac or Emile Zola.[20]

II. Influence of the Astrée on Literature and Society.

An eminent critic of our time writes of the *Astrée:* "If I were sent to twelve month's imprisonment of a mild description, and allowed to choose a library, I should include in it from the heroic or semi-heroic division, *Clélie*, La Calprenède's two chief works, Gomberville's *Polexandre* and Goumbald's *Endimion* (this partly for the pictures), with as a matter of course, the *Astrée*, and a choice of one other."[21]

The chief work of d'Urfé offers a striking example of the inconstancy of public opinion in literary and artistic matters. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the *Astrée* aroused a phenomenal enthusiasm while during the nineteenth century it was almost completely forgotten by all except the critics. From the moment of its publication society was infatuated with its fine analysis of Platonic friendship. The *Astrée* dominated the French theatre for forty years, during which time almost all pieces played were drawn from episodes in the romance.[22] "Between 1610 and 1650," remarks a critic peculiarly capable of judging, "that is to say during the time of the most lively struggle between Tragedy and Tragi-comedy, no book exercised a more profound or more universal influence on the theatre than the *Astrée* of Honoré d'Urfé."[23] The great writers of the classical period in French literature came under the spell of the novel and it was for the most part openly acknowledged. La Fontaine declares:

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[20] *Le Roman français au XVIIe siècle* (Revue des Cours et Conférences, 1905).
[21] George Saintsbury, *The History of the French Novel*, p. 229.
[22] "Pendant quarante ans, dit Segrais, on a tiré presque toutes les pieces de théâtre de *l'Astrée*, et les poètes se contentaient ordinairement de mettre en vers ce que d'Urfé fait dire en prose à ses personnages. Ces pièces s'appelèrent des pastorales, auxquelles des comédies succédèrent." Cf. *Segraisiana*, p. 145; Frères Parfaict, *Hist. du Théâtre français*, t. IV, p. 517; also Marsan, *La Pastorale dramatique*.
[23] Ferdinand Brunetière in La *Grande Encyclopédie*, article Tragédie.

"Cloris eut tort de parler si crument,
Non que Monsieur d'Urfé n'ait fait une oeuvre exquise;
Etant petit garçon, je lisois son roman,
Et je le lis encore, ayant la barbe grise."

Boileau sang its praises;[24] Mme. de Sévigné, in her retreat in Brittany, delighted in the charm of the characters painted in the story; Corneille was inspired by it in his *Suite du Menteur;*[25] Racine who had a copy of the *Astrée* in his library[26] owes to it his keen analysis of passion, and also somewhat of the sentimentality of many of his heroes;[27] Fléchier in his *Correspondence* with Mme. Deshoulières and her daughter shows the undoubted influence of d'Urfé; *Don Juan* of Molière is nothing else than a perverted Hylas, remarks Reure,[28] and even the great Bossuet borrowed some of the fine phraseology of the old romance for his panegyric of St. Bernard. As we have seen above, Saint Francis de Sales sincerely admired the work of Honoré. Camus, the friend and biographer of St. Francis, devoted several pages of his great book to the praise of d'Urfé;[29] in the *Astrée* d'Urfé is also the precursor of Fenelon's *Télémaque.*[30]

In the eighteenth century the influence of the novel on men of letters continued to be felt: Lesage, Prévost, Marivaux[31] were all indebted to the old romance, while Jean-Jacques Rousseau[32] and Barnardin de Saint-Pierre drew from it some

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[24] In *Les Héros de Roman,* Boileau says that the *Astrée* was, "une narration egalement vive et fleurie des fictions trés ingénieuses, des caractères aussi finement imaginés qu'agréablement variés et bien suivis."

[25] Act IV, Scene I, 11, Mélisse expounds the laws of sympathy according to the theory given by Sylvandre in the *Astrée,* II, 3; see Walther Fischer in *Modern Lang. Notes,* Vol. XXVII, p. 94, who discusses the question. On the influence of the *Astrée* on Corneille, see *Droz in Revue d'hist. littéraire de France,* 1921, also Tilley, *From Montaigne to Molière,* p. 142.

[26] *Revue d'Hist. littér. de France,* Ve année, p. 169.

[27] Racine continues and completes the love depicted by d'Urfé, showing us the miseries of our present state. He conducts us to pure love by the horror and fear awakened in our soul at the prospect of ceaselessly hovering over the brink of the abyss; Strowski, *Saint François de Sales,* p. 418.

[28] *Honoré d'Urfé,* p. 284.

[29] "Et certes qui considérera bien l'Astrée et en jugera sans passion recognoistra qu'entre les romans et les livres d'amour, c'est possible l'un des plus honnestes et des plus chastes qui se voient, l'autheur estant l'un des plus modestes et des plus accomplis gentils-hommes que l'on puisse figurer. . . ." *Esprit de St. François de Sales,* t. VI, pp. 119 f.

[30] Feugère, *Les Femmes poètes,* p. 237; Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé* p. 284.

[31] Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé,* pp. 284 ff; Germa, *L'Astrée,* pp. 215 ff.

[32] "Voilà le seul souvenir bien distinct qui me reste de ce qui m'est arrivé durant ce voyage. Je me rappelle seulement encore qu'en approchant de Lyon je fus tenté de prolonger ma route pour aller voir les bords du Lignon: car parmy les romans que j'avais lus avec mon père, *L'Astrée* n'avait pas été oubliée, et c'était celui me revenoit au coeur le plus fréquement. Je demandai la route du Forez; et, tout en causant avec une hôtesse, elle m'apprit que cétoit un bon pays de ressource pour les ouvriers, qu'il y avoit beaucoup de forges . . . Cet éloge calma tout à coup ma curiosité romanesque et je ne jugeai pas a propos d'aller chercher des Dianes et des Sylvandres chez un peuple de forgerons;" *Les Confessions,* Vol. I, 4.

of their love for nature. George Sand also based one of her stories on the *Astrée.*[33]

Nor was the work entirely forgotten in the nineteenth century, for occasionally unexpected traces of its hold on the affections of writers can be discovered. Thus, Edmond Rostand made his debut in the literary world by a critical study of the romance;[34] Brunetière did not hesitate to admit that "the success of the *Astrée* has given its orientation to a large current of our modern literature,"[35] and according to Saintsbury even Victor Hugo was apparently influenced by it.[36]

The influence of the Astrée on the salons was even more marked than on individual writers; a knowledge of the incidents and characters in the novel became a kind of passport into good society.[37] Its grasp on the popular mind can be estimated by the frequency with which references to the story are to be found in the memoirs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. All classes, educated as well as uneducated, were swayed by its code of politeness. The pastoral was known as "les délices et la folie de toute la France."[38] At the receptions held in the house of the Cardinal de Retz, one of the chief forms of amusement provided for the guests was to ask questions on the geography of the *Astrée* and a fine was imposed in case of failure to reply correctly.[39] Even the rigid inhabitants of Port Royal looked on d'Urfé as one of their friends.[40]

Discussions on the episodes of the story occupied a prominent place in the reunions at the home of Mme. de Sévigné[41] and in one of the best known salons of the seventeenth century, that of Mlle. de Montpensier and her friends at the chateau of Saint Fargan, there occur constant souvenirs of the romance.[42] In the famous salon of Catherine de Vivonne, Marquise de Rambouillet, which was organized in imitation of the society of the *Astrée* and which was the rendezvous for the most brilliant

[33] *Les Beaux Messieurs de Bois-Doré.*
[34] *Deux Romanciers de Provence: Honoré d'Urfé et Emile Zola.* This work obtained for Rostand the Maréchal de Villars prize from the Academy of Marseille in 1887.
[35] Brunetière, *Manuel de l'Hist. de littér. française,* p. 105, note 4.
[36] Saintsbury, *A History of the French Novel:* Addenda & Corrigenda, p. XII.
[37] Says Pierre du Ryer in *Les Vendanges de Suresnes:* "Un homme de neant . . .
Pourvu qu'il sache un mot des livres de l'Astrée,
C'est le plus grand esprit d etoute la contrée."
quoted in Wright, *Hist. of French Literature,* p. 285.
[38] Perrault, *Homme illustres, article d'Urfé.*
[39] Tallement des Reux, *Les Historiettes,* t. VII, p. 21.
[40] Cf. *Mémoires* du P. Rapin, quoted ni Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé,* pp. 275 f., note 2, and also Racine, *Lettre à l'auteur des hérésies imaginaires.*
[41] See Letter of May 20, 1676.
[42] Mémoires, t. VII, p. 124; Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé,* pp. 279-281.

minds of the time, the old story was the guide in conversation, and the official standard of the gallantry which held sway in that gilded circle.[43] Mme. Deshoulières was so charmed by the story that she made a pilgrimage to Forez to find in the country of Astrée and Celadon the inspiration for many of her best known poems.[44]

The book was read everywhere, in the ruelles, at Court, in the home of Mme. de La Fayette, in chateaux of the nobles, in the provinces and even in religious communities.[45] The influence of this old romance extended from serious statesmen like Richelieu to the courtiers.[46] This had its effect even on the styles of the period. We read that there were "jarretières Celadon" which for some time were fashionable.[47]

The popularity of the novel was not confined to France. Its influence was felt throughout Europe where it contributed in a marked way to the diffusion of the French language.[48] It first crossed the frontier and invaded Germany, as is shown by a curious letter from the Académie des Vrais Amants, an aristocratic coterie formed in imitation of the society of the shepherds in the *Astrée*. These German princes and princesses informed d'Urfé of the happy influence of his work, requested him to accept membership in their society and give them the conclusion of the story.[49] The *Astrée* was the first important French contribution to the development of the novel in England in the seventeenth century. An English translation appeared as

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[43] *International Encyclopedia*, article *d'Urfé*.
"Thus *L'Astrée*, with its refinement, its moral elevation, and especially its glorification of woman, made a strong appeal to Mme. de Rambouillet and all those who under her influence were striving to refine the relations and intercourse between the two sexes. Since Malherbe had banished imagination from poetry, the human heart, from which it cannot be banished, welcomed all the more its appearance in a new form. In other and more particular directions, too, the romance left its impress upon the Hôtel de Rambouillet: in the spirit of psychological analysis and in the long conversations in which this is embodied, in the feeling for nature, and in the exaggerated sentiment and high-flown language with which the various lovers express themselves. It has been said that L'Astrée is a mirror of the Blue Chamber; it is a truer view that the Blue Chamber is a mirror of *L'Astrée*:" Tilley, *From Montaigne to Molière*, p. 71.

[44] *Oeuvres de Madame et de Mademoiselle Deshoulières*, t. I. (preface).

[45] Bernard, *Les d'Urfé en Forez*, pp. 161 ff; Bonafous, *Etudes sur Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 247 ff; Germa, *L'Astrée*, pp. 215 ff; Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 275 ff.

[46] "Le rude et hautain ministre (si aimable, corrigerais-je, lorsqu'il voulait séduire) cachait, comme son frère le cardinal de Lyon, un sentimental, un berger de l'Astrée, et qui, parfois versifiant au long des canaux de Ruel (Rueil aujourd'hui), se souvenait du Lignon, des moutons enrubannés, de toutes les images pastorales qui enchantèrent sa mémoire juvénile;" Léopold Lacour, *Le Théâtre politique de Richelieu*, in *La Grande Revue*, March, 1925.

[47] "Puisque l'on dit bien des Jarretières de Céladon et des roses à la Parthénice . . ." Sorrel, *Hist. comique de Francion*, V, 496.
There have been only two general editions of the *Astrée*, that of 1632-33 and that of 1647, which explains the difficulty in procuring a complete edition of the work. These, however, had been preceded by numerous partial editions, see Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 204 ff.

[48] Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 277.

[49] Cf. Lettre escrite à l'autheur (published in *Astrée*, I; it is dated March, 1624).

early as 1611, but the first generally known edition is the "newly translated" First Part in twelve books by John Pyper bearing the date of 1620.[50] Another translation was published in 1657-58, by a "person of quality" with a preface signed J. D.[51] Translations in the principal European languages appeared in the early seventeenth century; in German, 1620; Dutch, 1625; Italian, 1637; Flemish, 1644.[52] In Poland towards the end of the century, John Sobieski, who was not by any means a be-musked knight of the carpet, played at Celadon with Marie d'Arquien as Astrée: . . . "Celadon am I now as in the past; the ardent lover of those first glad days!" he wrote after his marriage.[53]

From this cursory survey of its history, it may be seen what a great part this novel had in the formation of French polite society. Of all similar works published in the seventeenth century in France, none advocated as did the *Astrée* in so marked a manner the peculiarly refined and idealized code which was a distinguishing mark of that society. Court life, such as witnessed by Honoré d'Urfé about 1605, was corrupt in morals, and vulgar in tone. The king gave the example of the grossest license, preserving in his circle a remnant of the corruption of the society of the Valois which had been swept away in the civil wars, but whose traditions still survived.[54]

The need of the hour was answered by the appearance of the *Astrée*, a circumstance which partly accounts for its phe-

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[50] Upham, *The French Influence in English Literature*, p. 366. Drummond writing from Paris (1607) describes a beautiful young lady in these terms; "She was said to be the Astraea of the Marquis D'Urfee." (Drummond, Works, ed. Edin., 1711, p. 141, quoted by Upham, Op. cit., p. 366.) John Fletcher was indebted to the *Astrée* in some of his plays notably *Valentinian* which follows the narrative of d'Urfé very faithfully and *Monsieur Thomas* which is based on the episode of Celidée, Thamyre and Calydon in *Astrée*, Part II. The Private Memoires of Sir Kenelm Digby appearing in the first half of the seventeenth century related the experiences of this courtier and were based on the plan of d'Urfé in his work, see Upham, *The French influence in English Literature*, pp. 365 ff. In 1651 *Astraea* or *True Love's Mirror* by Leonard Willan was published. The author dedicated the play to Mary, Duchess of Richmond and Lennox, explaining how she may find her own portrait in Astraea. This masque was an attempt to dramatize certain episodes in the *Astrée* and presupposed great familiarity with the novel, see Upham, *Op. cit.*, p. 385 ff.

[51] Probably John Davis who translated La Calprenède's *Cléopâtre*.

[52] Cf. Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 222 ff.

[53] Arvède Barine, *La Grande Mademoiselle*, pp. 93 f.

[54] The king's retinue had become the "center of the delicate mannerism and the incubating cell of the refinement of vice. Though the civil wars had annihilated the splendid rottenness of the court, the memory of the delicacy of the Valois survived. When peace was declared, when men had leisure to look about them, they were confronted by the rude court of Henry IV. They felt the need of the re-establishment of polite society, but where could they find the elements of such a society? Foreign influence had enervated the national imagination, Spanish literature with its romances of cruel chivalry, its pastorals, and its theatrical dramas, had imbued the Romanticism of France with its poison, and symptoms of moral debility were generally evident. A period of fermentation and expectancy followed war. When civil wars were over the men of France sat waiting; their need was pressing but they could form no idea of its nature." Barine, *La Grande Mademoiselle*, pp. 93 f.

nomenal success. The romance was opportune, and by holding up to its contemporaries a high ideal of love and friendship, contributed powerfully in raising the moral tone of society in the early part of the century. "Ce que *l'Astrée* apprit surtout à notre société mondaine, ce qu'elle lui apprit sans doute de meilleur, ce fut à causer délicatement de choses sérieuses, nobles et fines . . ."[55]

As we have seen in the history of his life, Honoré d'Urfé was a member of the League, had experienced the cruelties of war and was one of the last to surrender. He more than any other could feel the need of a new ideal in the hearts of the men of his time. He had been a close friend of St. Francis de Sales, and recognized with him the necessity of giving society an ideal of refinement in speech, of reëstablishing a chivalrous respect for women and a noble and virtuous love. The analogy between the genius of d'Urfé and that of St. Francis de Sales is so marked that there is almost identity of inspiration and of talent between the *Astrée* and the *Introduction à la Vie dévote.*[56]

The appearance of the *Astrée* marks the beginning of an epoch in the gradual raising of the moral tone of Society. We do not claim, however, that vice no longer existed, but at least it was more veiled and not so cynically displayed. Thoughtful minds admit that this book has in no little way added in the progress noticeable at the time towards a higher idealism in society and in the literary world. On the other hand, it may be objected that there was exaggeration in this refinement and the expression of it as we find later in the *"précieuse"* society which soon followed. But the road of gallantry and artificiality had to be traversed before the society of Henry IV and Louis XIII could be transformed into one capable of appreciating the beauty of a close intimacy with Nature without a return to its brutality from which it had barely emerged.[57]

From what precedes it is clear that three phases in the history of the *Astrée* may be distinguished—the period of its unprecedented popularity from its appearance down to the nineteenth century was followed by a period of disfavor. Writers of the nineteenth century with a few exceptions did not read the book

[55] Vianey, *Hist. lit. franç. illustrée,* I, p. 228.
[56] Brunetière, *Histoire de la Littérature,* p. 104; Montégut, *En Bourbonnais,* p. 264.
[57] On this, see Montégut, *En Bourbonnais et en Forez,* pp. 264 ff.

accepting the judgment of such a critic as La Harpe as final,[58] or if they did read the *Astrée* it was in a superficial manner their mentality and preoccupations leading them in another direction. To be appreciated, the *Astrée* must be studied. The ridicule thrown, at times very unjustly, on the whole *précieux* movement rebounded on the work of d'Urfé, and writers failed to recognize its immense influence on literature and society. The third period, that of its rehabilitation dates from M. F. Brunetière who was the first to call the attention of critics to the importance of the *Astrée* in the formation of the great literature of the seventeenth century. He remarks that in no book was the passion of love better analysed, in its strong, fine, subtle handling of this subject, nor better represented in the infinite variety of its shadings, and he adds that this accounts for the success, not only national but European of the work of d'Urfé. It is, moreover, the reason for the eagerness with which French society of the seventeenth century conformed its customs and manners to it,[59] it is also the explanation why it has retained its superiority in spite of its quaint old style, tender and diffuse, over so many romances—not excepting those of Mme. Sand—which owe to it, unconsciously perhaps, their origin.[60] Since Brunetière's time an increasing interest has been taken in the study of Honoré and his work. Hardly a critic to day would refuse to acknowledge both the internal merit of the *Astrée* and its great service to French letters.[61] The latest student of the novel does not hesitate to say that without it "notre grande littérature du XVIIe siècle ne serait point ce qu'elle est. C'est un singulier honneur pour d'Urfé que ses peintures aient paru bonnes à nos meilleurs peintres de caractères, et qu'on soit obligé d'étudier *l'Astrée* pour comprendre entièrement Corneille."[62]

In this revival of interest, critics have directed their attention

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[58] J'avoue franchement que jamais je n'ai pu les (romans) lire, non plus que *l'Astrée* quoique beaucoup plus moderne, et ma'gré la vogue prodigieuse qu'elle avait encore au commencement du dernier siècle. Quelques traits de naïvete, quelques images pastorales que l'on pouvait rechercher dans un temps où l'on manquait de meilleurs modèles, ne peuvent aujourd'hui faire supporter le verbiage et le galimatias, si ce n'est aux philologues de profession . . . .
Lycée ou Cours de Littérature, VII, pp. 221 f. (ed. of 1815).

[59] Montégut had already expressed the view that "si notre littérature . . . nous a transmis des livres d'une composition plus parfaile, elle ne nous en a transmis aucun qui ait joué un rôle plus considérable, et auquel se rattache une rénovation sociale et littéraire plus complète;" *En Bourbonnais et en Forez,* p. 272.

[60] Brunetière, *La Grande Encyclopédie,* Article *Tragédie; Histoire de la Littérature française,* pp. 104 ff.

[61] Cf. Bonafous, *Etudes sur l'Astrée,* pp. 247 ff.; Germa, *L'Astrée,* pp. 215 ff.

[62] Vianey, *La Littérature sous le Règne de Henri IV et pendant la Régence de Marie de Médecis,* in Bédier-Hazard, *Histoire de la Littérature française,* I, 229, 2nd col.

to the literary, psychological and social qualities of the *Astrée,* but to our knowledge, the aesthetic theories of d'Urfé have not yet received their due share of consideration.[63] Yet we might assume almost a priori that he was interested in beauty and art; for as we have seen above, his naturally artistic temperament found ideal opportunities for development from family traditions, surroundings, associations, education and travels. On the other hand, he has woven into the episodes of the *Astrée* practically all questions that interested him and the age in which he lived. These considerations led us to investigate this phase of his work and we are glad to say that we have discovered such a wealth of material that d'Urfé might be rightly considered as a pioneer in art criticism, and that his views on beauty, if systematized, would almost form a complete manual of aesthetics.

[63] Germa has considered the art with which Honoré has composed the *Astrée* and has given a few pages on its influence on art in general, but does not deal with the deeper aspect of the question.

Chapter III.

BEAUTY IN GENERAL.

Before analyzing the theories of d'Urfé on aesthetics and art in the *Astrée* we must state which characters represent his real views and which are introduced merely as objectors to be answered and corrected.

The chief exponents of Honoré d'Urfé's ideas are: first, Adamas, the Druidical high-priest, sympathetic counselor of all, who develops the religious elements of aesthetics and love; Sylvandre, the idealistic philosopher, expressing Honoré d'Urfé at his best; Celadon, the hero, who personifies the author in his youth; and Corilas, disciple of Sylvandre. Among the prominent feminine characters are Diane and Astrée, bearing to Diane of Chateaumorand, wife of Honoré d'Urfé, the same relationship as Sylvandre and Celadon do to the author himself; and the nymph Leonide, loving and generous friend of Celadon. All these in their conversations and discussions announce or support the theistic view-point which is very evidently the one approved by the author.

The hedonistic, though not sceptical, standard of beauty is defended and interpreted by Hylas, and, to a lesser degree by Phylis, who uphold the more superficial and more worldly gospel. Hylas is the typical worldling, gay, witty, brilliant, carefree, but shortsighted in his views, unconsciously selfish and superficial, who affects to ignore all the deeper significance of life and judges of the value of things from their capacity for producing pleasure. The objections he proposes to the philosophy of Sylvandre are always met and answered by his opponents in a way favorable to the highest idealism, and he generally retires from the combat, conquered but not always convinced. Although disagreeing with the principles of Hylas, the other characters seem to enjoy his company and his clever repartees; even when he is discomfited in his wordy duel and the laugh is turned against him, yet his next attack is always eagerly awaited.

Apart from certain views presented more or less systematically by Adamas, it is clear that Honoré d'Urfé did not intend to write a formal treatise on aesthetics. He realized quite early in his career that in the concrete, man reaches the object simultaneously under three main aspects, truth, beauty, and goodness, and that man himself comes into contact with that object, not with one faculty only but as a being endowed with reason, will, and aesthetic sense. He also realized that for purposes of analysis we separate by an abstraction of the mind what is not so separated in nature. For him as for the schoolmen, Truth is not Goodness, and the concept of Goodness is not that of Beauty. Intellect is not will, nor is the will to be confounded with the aesthetic sense, nor love with admiration. But in the concrete all these faculties act simultaneously, there is a constant interpenetration and interdependence, and Honoré has generally so presented them.

The author of the *Astrée* was a profoundly religious man who saw the action of God in all things. For him this divine action was not merely an abstract truth for intellectual consideration but was a living, concrete reality which should exert a profound influence on our lives. This ideal although placed on the lips of the Druid Adamas and his followers is really the ideal of the Church as drawn from the evangelical narrative. When expounding his views on aesthetics, d'Urfé clearly distinguishes the part of God who is the source of beauty, and the part of man who apprehends and enjoys it. This fundamental problem of beauty interests him far more than its mere definition, which is everywhere presupposed but nowhere very explicitely stated. He does not rest satisfied until he has traced the origin of beauty beyond its external manifestation, until he has shown us the purpose of beauty beyond its mere enjoyment, and demonstrated that both on account of its origin and purpose it has a dignity and a sacredness that the materially inclined can hardly suspect. Being a deep thinker and somewhat of a mystic, d'Urfé tries to judge things, and beauty in particular, from the standpoint of their Creator. The relation of beauty to man interests him, but its relation to God interests him much more.

The line of argument used by the author of the Astrée in unfolding his aesthetic principles is the same as the one followed

in proving the existence of a Supreme Being, of a Universal Creator, infinite in His perfections, the efficient cause of all that exists, Who preserves in each individual the essence, qualities, and properties of his nature. From the seen we are led to the unseen, from the effect to the cause, as St. Paul has it "The invisible things of him (God), from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made."[1] Or as the Psalmist says, "The heavens show forth the glory of God and the firmament declareth the work of his hands."[2] Beauty, like all perfections in the Universe, is the work and gift of God, and the desire for ideal beauty finally leads man to the Supreme Uncreated Beauty, Who is at the same time the source of all created perfection.

The meeting of Celadon with Adamas in the grove where the hero takes refuge after his escape from the palace of Galatée[3] gives the occasion to d'Urfé to explain his philosophy of beauty. Adamas tells Celadon that "All beauty proceeds from that sovereign goodness which we call God, a ray of which springs forth from Him on all things created. Just as the earthly sun which we see, illumines the air, the water, and the earth with the same ray: so the eternal sun beautifies the angelic intelligences, the reasonable soul, and matter."[4]

As the artist puts something of his own into his work, God has called into existence different beings to portray some special trait of His own beauty, their graduated perfection being determined by their degree of resemblance to the Divine Exemplar. Adamas continues: "As the splendor of the sun seems more beautiful in the air than in the water, and in the water than on the earth, so the splendor of God is much more beautiful in the angelic intelligences than in the reasonable soul, and in the soul than in matter. Thus we say that to the first He has given ideas; to the second, reason; and to the third, form.[5]

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[1] Rom., I, 20.

[2] Ps. 181.

[3] The story relates that when Astrée believing the tales told her by Semire as to the unfaithfulness of Celadon, refuses his proffered love, he in despair tries to drown himself in the Lignon but is rescued by the nymph Galatée and her attendant Leonide and Sylvie. He is nursed back to health in the palace of Isoure but to be nearer Astrée and to escape the charms of Galatée, he leaves by stealth, takes refuge in the woods near the Lignon and erects there a temple to the goddess Astrée, *Astrée,* I, 1, 12.

[4] "Il faut donc que vous sçachiez, que toute beauté procede de ceste souveraine bonté, que nous appellons Dieu, et que c'est un rayon qui s'elance de luy sur toutes les choses creées. Et comme le soleil que nous voyons, esclaire l'air, l'eau et la terre d'un mesme rayon: ce soleil eternel embellit aussi l'entendement angelique, l'ame raisonnable, et la matiere:" *Astrée,* II, 2, p. 96.

[5] "Mais comme la clarté du soleil paroist plus belle en l'air qu'en l'eau, et en l'eau qu'en la terre: de mesme celle de Dieu est bien plus belle en l'entendement angelique

According to d'Urfé there are three main classes of beings into which some of this beauty is infused, angelic, human, and material, each characterized by a special manifestation of the infinite beauty of God. Adamas resumes: "The angelic spirits are those pure intelligences who by the vision they have of the sovereign beauty are gifted with ideas of all things; the reasonable soul is what makes man different from the brute, and it is the soul which through reasoning brings us to the knowledge of all things, and which is therefore, called reasonable. Matter is that which is perceived by the senses, and is made beautiful by the variety of forms it receives, so that you may judge that she, whom you love, has the perfection of the last two beauties, reasonable and corporal, and still we can say without detriment to her that there are perfections greater than hers.[6]

The specific beauty of man is a combination of the beauty of the reasonable soul and of the natural beauty of the body; partaking of the angelic beauty through the intellect, and of the beauty of material things through the form; it is thus the link between the two.

Coming to the various beings within each class, d'Urfé through the Druid priest, evolves a theory of the standards of beauty which God has willed for each species, and for each variety within the species. Each one receives from the Supreme Beauty as much perfection as it can contain. This essentially corresponds to the idea that God had of that being before bringing it into existence. What is perfection for one species may not be so for another; there must be truth to type but one type is not to be judged by the standard of another: "And because the reasonable soul is that which gives being to man and makes him different from the animals, it is better to have a deformed body than an imperfect soul. I will even go further, adds Sylvandre, it would be better to be a horse or a beautiful dog than to have the face of a man and not to have the form as it

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qu'en l'ame raisonnable, et en l'eau qu'en la matiere. Aussi disons nous qu'au premier il a mis les idees, au second les raisons, et au dernier les formes." *Astrée*, II, 2, p. 96.

[6] "Mon enfant, adjousta le Druide, les entendements angeliques sont ces pures intelligences, qui par la veuë qu'elles ont de ceste souveraine beauté, sont embellies des Idees de toutes choses: l'ame raisonnable est celle mesme qui par les hommes sont differents des brutes, et c'est elle mesme qui par le discours nous fait parvenir à la cognoissance des choses, et qui à ceste occasion s'appelle raisonnable. La Matiere est ce qui tombe sous les sens, qui s'embellit par les divesses formes qu'on luy donne, et par la vous pouvez juger, que celle que vous aimez pour bien avoir en perfection les deux dernieres beautez que nous nommons corporelle et raisonnable et que toutesfois nous pouvons dire sans l'offenser, qu'il y en a d'autres plus grandes que la sienne." *Astrée*, II, 2, pp. 96 f.

should be, because a horse is a perfect animal, but he who has a soul lacking in a principal part such as understanding, is imperfect.[7]

Following the same line of thought Adamas continues: "You can better understand this by the comparison of vases full of water, for even as the large ones contain more than the smaller ones, and yet the small ones are as full as the large vases, in the same manner must we speak of things capable of receiving beauty; for there are some substances, which on account of their perfection, can receive more than others, but nevertheless, these latter cannot be called imperfect, having as much perfection as they are capable of receiving; and your lady is in this last category, for without offense you may call her perfect, and still acknowledge that she is on a lower plane than these pure spirits of whom I have spoken.[8]

This divine origin of beauty, being an expression of the divine perfections, gives a constant and objective element to the beauty of created things. For seen with the eye of God, all things individually and the universe as a whole are beautiful, in a greater or lesser degree as they partake more or less closely of the likeness of God.[9] Besides, this divine origin of things forms a bond of unity for the entire scheme of creation, for as Adamas explains: "All beautiful things, even though diverse, have some conformity among them, even as all good has something in common; this is why we say that there is but one Good and one Beautiful, from the likeness of Whom, goodness and beauty are judged to be such."[10]

Viewed from the standpoint of its origin, beauty is then a

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[7] "Et parce que l'ame raisonnable est celle qui donne l'estre à l'homme, et le rend different des bestes, il est beaucoup meilleur, selon vostre mesme opinion, d'avoir le corps imparfait que l'ame. Voire je diray bien plus, il vaudroit beaucoup mieux estre un beau Cheval, ou un beau chien, que d'avoir la figure d'un homme, et n'en avoir pas la forme telle qu'elle doit estre, parce qu'un Cheval est un animal parfait, et celuy qui a l'ame defaillante en sa principale partie telle que l'entendement, en est un infiniment imparfait," etc. *Astrée,* III, 1, p. 55.

[8] "Ce que vous entendrez mieux par la comparaison des vases d'eau: car tout ainsi que les grands en contiennent d'avantage que les petits, et que les petits ne laissent d'estre aussi pleins que les plus grands: de mesme faut-il dire des choses capables de recevoir la beauté; car il y a des substances qui pour leur perfection en doivent recevoir, selon leur nature, beaucoup plus que d'autres, qui toutesfois ne se peuvent dire imparfaites, ayans autant de perfection qu'elles en peuvent recevoir: et c'est de celles-cy que sera vostre Maistresse, que sans offense vous pouvez dire parfaite, et avouer moindre que ces pures intelligences dont je vous ay parle." *Astrée,* II, 2, 97.

[9] The same applies still more directly to Truth and Goodness, as will be seen later.

[10] "Toutes les choses qui sont belles, encore qu'elles soient diverses, ne laissent pas d'avoir entr'elles quelque conformite comme aussi toutes les bonnes. Et c'est pour quoy quelques-uns ont dit, qu'il n'avoit qu'un bon et un beau, à la similitude duquel toutes les choses bonnes et belles sont iugees estre telles. Or ces Planettes et ces intelligences qui leur president ne sont bonnes ny belles, sinon qu'entant qu'elles ressemblent le plus à leur suprême Bon et Beau." *Astrée,* III, 5, 450.

manifestation of the perfections of God. But it is evident that this manifestation is not intended to remain a mere teleological abstraction; it is the purpose of God that created beauty, like truth and goodness, should lead the intelligent creature back to its source. Lower creation cannot consciously argue from effect to cause. Man, then, is the interpreter of nature and gives glory to God in its name.

Every work has in itself something of the artist, manifests his perfections, and leads us back to a proper understanding and appreciation of his skill. Man, when contemplating himself and the things exterior to himself, recognizes the work of God in them, and in them admires or ought to admire Him, praise Him, and give Him the credit that is His due for His wonderful skill and goodness. For there is a reflection or spark of God's perfections in every creature, not in a pantheistic sense, but yet the real effect of God's action: "Oh how admirable are all His works and what we can know is but a spark."[11] For this reason the inspired writers invite all creatures to give glory to God. Inanimate nature finds expression for this in man who as a result of contemplation of the beauty of nature voices his admiration for the Author of all. In Psalms 148-150, and in the canticle *Benedicite,* Daniel, III, 57-88, we are recommended to praise God through creation, or what is the same, to praise and admire creatures for the sake of the Creator, as we admire a work of art and through it give praise to the artist. "He set His eyes upon their hearts to show them the greatness of His works that they might praise the name which He has sanctified, and glory in His wondrous acts, that they might declare the glorious things of His works."[12] A long passage in Ecclesiasticus[13] insists on the necessity of recognizing the presence of God in creation and of praising Him for His works. "We shall say much and yet shall want words, but the sum of our words is, He is in all."[14] This is an extension of what the Church invites us to recite in the Divine Praises, "Blessed be God in His angels and in His saints." The texts from the *Astrée,* quoted above, establish the thought of Honoré d'Urfé beyond question.[15]

[11] Ecclesiasticus, XLII, 23.
[12] Ecclesiasticus, XVII, 7-8.
[13] Ecclesiasticus, 27-37.
[14] Ecclesiasticus, XLIII, 29.
[15] We may in this connection refer to some stanzas of a poem composed by our author and which illustrates the same ideas. This is a morning prayer in which he asks

Such, then, according to the author of the *Astrée,* is the origin and purpose of beauty which it is the duty of man to recognize as having for its author and final end, God. But in all this d'Urfé cannot be said to have discovered new vistas; mystics in all ages have felt the presence of God in nature; for them the beauty and goodness of creatures will ever be a living principle. St. Francis of Assisi, Dante, Giotto, and the glorious galaxy down to Francis Thompson, Joyce Kilmer, the Little Flower, and the Catholic poet Louis Mercier[16] have felt this idealism in nature as a representative of God; have personified it, endowing it with an artificial consciousness which is nothing else than their own communing with the Creator through creation. Thus understood, beauty has a religious mission, and lifts us above creatures until we find ourselves kneeling at the throne of God. For religious, mystical and idealistic souls like that of Honoré d'Urfé, beauty, so dangerous a gift in the eyes of many, offers no peril, it is all in God and for God. The sentiment to which it gives rise in their hearts might be called admiration-religion, or beauty-virtue, as we speak of love-virtue, love-religion.[17] Thus beauty, with Him, assumes a real dignity and instead of remaining a mere superficial and passing modality, it promotes the moral and spiritual culture of man.

This theory on the essence and purpose of the beautiful may appear far-fetched to the modern world accustomed to limit its horizon to the earth which has practically banished God from all human activities and which rests satisfied with considering natural phenomena without developing an interest in their deeper

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God to remove the darkness of our intelligence that we may see and admire the work of the Creator, adore and fear Him:

"Grand Dieu! que les effets de tes faicts sont estranges!
La terre t'appartient, ouvrage de tes mains,
Et ce palais d'azure, la retraitte des Anges,
Fut basty de tes doigts pour le bien des humains.

Oste donc de nos yeux ce bandeau d'ignorance
Qui entretient la nuict de nostre aveuglement,
Et comme le soleil à parestre commence,
Ce soit pour t'adorer et craindre seulement."

Quoted by Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé,* p. 58.

[16] A kindred spirit to that of Honoré d'Urfé is another "Forézien," Louis Mercier, who as a poet stands almost without a peer in French verse of the present day. Louis Mercier looks at things from their relation to God, and has clothed his thoughts with the most charming simplicity; he has the gift of making his readers feel with him the divine in nature; cf. *Lazare le Ressuecité;* and his collections: .*Voix de la Terre et du Temps; Les Pierres Sacrées,* etc. On Mercier, see Gohin, F., *Le Poète Louis Mercier,* 1922.

[17] Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé,* p. 244.

meanings and purposes. But for one who can penetrate below the surface of things and see them as they really are, this view will appear as one of the best calculated to give us the proper standard for appreciating things around us, and proving our loyalty to the author of it all. To the modern world with its shallow systems, the ideals of d'Urfé would be almost unintelligible and scarcely welcome, but they would be of an immense advantage.

Passing now to the reaction of man in presence of a beautiful object, d'Urfé examines the faculties at play in the perception of beauty, which he divides into three heads: "that which is perceived by the sight, the judgment of which is left to the eye; that of harmony, of which the ear alone is capable of deciding; and that which is based on reason, which the mind alone can discern. It follows that the eyes, the ears, and the mind alone must have the recognition and the pleasure of them. If any other senses mingle therein they are to be compared to these impudent persons who come to a wedding without being invited."[18]

In this opinion, d'Urfé is in agreement with all writers on aesthetics who do not call beautiful, a pleasant smell or a delicate perception of touch, nor a sensation of taste however agreeable. The aesthetic sense results from the harmonious activity of several faculties, the most essential of which is the intellect, for the understanding of the object is at the basis of all aesthetic judgment; we find pleasure in an object when it has a meaning for us or when we understand it.[19] The aesthetic faculties are therefore mostly cognitive, although accompanied by, and giving rise to, the activity of the affective faculties. So when d'Urfé remarks: "At the sight of beauty the eyes and the mind (intelligence) remain enraptured in the contemplation and in the vision of the beautiful,"[20] he is in accord with St. Thomas who writes: *"Pulchrum respicit vim cognoscitivam,"* a disinterested contemplation by the eye, the ear

[18] ". . . trois sortes de beauté, celle qui tombe sous la veuë, de laquelle il faut laisser le jugement à l'oeil, celle qui est l'harmonie, dont l'oreille est seulement capable: et celle en fin qui est en la raison, que l'esprit seul peut discerner: il s'ensuit que les yeux, les oreilles, et les esprits seuls en doivent avoir la jouissance. Que si quelques autres sentimens s'y veulent mesler ils ressemblent à ces effrontes qui viennent aux nopces sans y estre conviez." *Astrée,* II, 2, p. 98.

[19] Dubray, *Introd. Philosophy,* p. 296.

[20] "Mais quand ceste vertu se rencontre en un corps qui est beau, elle n'est pas seulement agreable, mais admirable, d'autant que les yeux et l'esprit demeuremt ravis en la contemplation et en la vision du beau." . . . *Astrée,* I, 10, p. 574.

and the intelligence. This is the source of a peculiar, joyful emotion, called aesthetic pleasure, experienced by the spectator at the sight of beauty: *"unde pulchra dicuntur quae visa placent."*[21] In this connection a question is further asked by writers on aesthetics as to what exactly makes an object beautiful and what causes man to feel that aesthetic pleasure; in other words what is the formal concept of beauty? Honoré d'Urfé has nowhere given this formal definition of beauty. There is little doubt, however, that if he had defined it he would have given the definition commonly accepted at that time, viz., unity in variety. Sylvandre sees the essential unity in things, while Hylas delights in their variety. The difference in viewpoint between the two is not a real opposition but each completes the other.

That there should be variety is evident, otherwise monotony would result which does not give aesthetic pleasure. D'Urfé makes use of Hylas this time to express his own views: "Every time a musician changes his note, is that to say he judges the last worse than the one he now makes use of? It is rather in order to render the music more beautiful and more pleasing, which otherwise would be monotonous. If the painter in his work changes not only his colors but also his brushes, is that to say he despises the color and the first brush for the last ones? On the contrary it is often to enrich and bring out better the color he has made use of in the beginning, or to draw more delicate strokes," and Hylas pretends that he changes constantly "to follow the rule which Nature has placed in all things, and which teaches us that it is nothing other than this variety which renders the Universe so beautiful."[22]

But variety as such does not produce pleasure; there must be some relation between the parts of an object or between the various elements of each part or between the parts and the whole. If the parts are not related, no form would exist. D'Urfé

[21] St. Thomas, *Summa Theol.*, i, Quaest. 5, art. 4.

[22] ". . . toutes fois qu'un Musicien change de notte, est-ce à dire qu'il la juge pire que celle qu'il prend? Nullement berger, mais c'est d'autant que la Musique s'en rend plus belle, et plus agreable? qui autrement seroit ennuyeuse. Si le Peintre en son ouvrage change non seulement de couleurs, mais aussi de pinceau, est-ce à dire qu'il méprise la premiere couleur, et le premier pinceau pour le dernier? Au contraire, c'est quelquefois afin de rehausser ou faire mieux paroistre la couleur de laquelle il s'est servy au commencement, ou pour tirer des traicts plus delicats. Aussi Thamire, ce n'est pas comme tu dis, pour estimer davantage une bergére que nous laissons celle que nous avons servie, mais seulement pour suivre la reigle que nous voyons que la Nature a mise en toutes choses qui nous enseigne qu'il n'y a rien que la veriété qui rende beau l'Univers," etc. *Astrée*, IV, 5, pp. 396 ff.

constantly insists on the beauty of forms, and it is form which constitutes the beauty of external objects.[23] Thus for him beauty is the perfection of the object manifested by proportions and color.[24] If there is form, there must be relationship of parts, and the more perfectly they harmonize, the more pleasant will be the effect produced by the object. On the contrary, beauty is destroyed and ugliness results if one or several of these parts are not in harmony with the central idea of the object, according to its species and type. Hence at the basis of harmony there is the idea of unity and towards that unity all parts converge. In all the descriptions both referring to nature and art, d'Urfé has emphasized this principle of unity. In fact the principle of unity is at the basis of any concept of the beautiful.[25] This essential unity is poetically expressed in the answer of Thamire to Hylas: "You are indeed trifling, when you quote musicians and painters, since neither the one nor the other would be such except they made use of them (e. g. different notes, colors, brushes). I wish to say that music, which gives its name to the musician, is a combination of diverse voices well harmonized. Painting from which the painter takes his name is a disposition of diverse colors with which something is represented. Now think, Hylas, is it inconstancy in the musician to change his note or in the painter to make use of several colors, since if they do otherwise, neither the one nor the other will carry out their intention.[26]

The capacity for reducing things to unity gives a gradation in the aesthetic enjoyment of beauty, that one receiving more refined pleasure who can reduce more things to a common idea, until God is reached, who not only produces beauty but sees the

[23] "Mais combien es-tu deceu Hylas, si tu as ceste creance, puis que la beauté est la perfection de la chose ou elle est, voudrois tu dire, que la perfection de chaque chose ne fust qu'une imagination? Mais toy, reprit l'inconstant voudrois-tu bien nier que la beauté, . . . fust autre chose que l'opinion de celuy qui les void, etc. . . ." *Astrée,* IV, 2, 143.

[24] . . . mon amy, reprit Hylas, es-tu devenu disciple de Sylvandre penses-tu peut-estre, comme luy, que la beauté soit une proportion et un meslange de couleurs? etc." *Astrée,* IV, 2, p. 123.

[25] Pere André, writing in the eighteenth century says of this principle, "que c'est l'unité qui constitue, pour ainsi dire, la forme et l'essence du beau en tout genre de beauté: *Omnis porro pulchritudinis forma unitas est;*" see Wright, *French Classicism,* p. 19.

[26] "Mais tu-es bien gracieux, quand tu allegues les Musiciens et les Peintres, puis que ny l'un ny l'autre de ceux-cy ne seroit ce pourquoy il est nommé tel s'il n'en usoit ainsi. Je veux dire que la Musique qui donne le nom au Musicien, est une rencontre de diverses voix bien disposées, la Peinture de laquelle le Peintre prend son nom, est une disposition de diverses couleurs, avec lesquelles quelque chose est representée. Or considere Hylas, si c'est inconstance au Musicien de changer de notte, et au Peintre de se servir de diverses couleurs, puis que s'ils faisoient autrement, ny les uns ny les autres ne sçauroient parvenir à la fin de leur dessein." *Astrée,* IV, 5, p. 399.

unity of all creation in Himself. This principle of unity is, of course, the work of the intelligence, and therefore, the more developed our mind is, the more we perceive the beauty of the universe. We arrive at an understanding of a beautiful object by its unity, and the greater the measure of this unity, the greater will be its apprehension; the greater the variety of being brought under this unity, the greater also the joy of the soul.[27]

In this connection, d'Urfé has called attention to the three main classes of intelligences which apprehend and enjoy this beauty and refer it to its source: the uncreated intelligence, the angelic intelligences, and man.[28]

But there are various degrees of development even among men. The child sees objects singly without reducing them to a common idea. As our mental and aesthetic powers grow, we are enabled to bring into harmony many objects which heretofore had remained without any apparent relationship to one another, and thus we acquire a sense of harmony, proportion, and therefore of beauty. We begin to group things into units. For instance, a landscape will be made up of several objects harmonized together. Gradually our vision extends further and we grasp to a certain extent the invisible principle which constitutes their unity. We perceive unity and harmony even in things purely abstract when put together systematically. We may unite by association certain objects beautiful on account of the memories they evoke.[29]

This principle is also illustrated in almost every page of the *Astrée* through the discussions which take place among the shepherds and shepherdesses of the Lignon. D'Urfé tells us how inferior the aesthetic pleasure is which is derived merely from a superficial examination of the object. Hylas never penetrates deeply enough into the principle of things, is never held by any object, no matter how perfect it may be. He does not reach the soul of things, hence, constantly shifts from one object to another. He has not given to objects their proper aesthetical basis constituting a broader principle of unity. Physical beauty is of course based on a certain harmony and unity, but this harmony is superficial, and in order to be raised

[27] Cf. Canon Moyes, *The Existence of God.*
[28] *Astrée*, II, 2, p. 96; see above p.
[29] Dubray, *Introd. Philosophy*, pp. 292 and 170.

to a higher level, physical beauty needs the addition of moral and intellectual perfections. D'Urfé's creations, Stella, Phylis, and Olympia represent physical beauty alone, and do not captivate as do Diane, Astrée and Leonide, because the latter unite the higher perfections of the soul to physical beauty which in their case is only their external manifestation. An aesthetic pleasure which would stop at physical beauty and omit the finer qualities of the soul would be inferior, vulgar and material like the body. Sylvandre and Corilas expound the higher, nobler, and more stable beauties of the soul. Material beauty reaches the intellect through the senses, which nature has given as instruments by which the soul comes to the knowledge of things, but the senses must in no way be companions of the pleasures of the soul as they are wholly incapable of so great a good.[30] The higher things of the mind are only reached through reason.

What we have said so far of the views of d'Urfé on the formal concept of beauty and on its power to produce aesthetic pleasure is a theory and an ideal. Alas! nothing is perfect in this world, and in practice the ideal is never reached. It is evident that within the same object, the peculiar features that will focus the attention of the spectator and in which he will see harmony, will vary almost infinitely. When we speak of the concrete aesthetic appreciation of an object, we have to introduce a variable element, for man's mentality is modified by personal and racial characteristics, early impressions and associations, education, novelty and various other factors, so that elements other than purely aesthetic enter his judgment. We know by experience and observation that few are able to see beauty where it really is, and many consider as beautiful what is not so in reality. Few will see the same thing in the same object and so there is a real danger of making pleasure alone the criterion of beauty. The African native thinks that his tamtam or rattling gourd produces wonderful music, while for us it is only meaningless noise. The beauty intended by God and given to creatures according to class, species, types and varieties is there, but it is not always apprehended by us; thus the African

[30] ". . . puis que la nature nous a seulement donné les sens pour instruments, par lesquels nostre ame recevant les especes des choses vient a leur cognoissense, mais nullement pour compagnons de ses plaisirs et felicitez comme trop incapables d'un si grand bien. *Astrée*, II, 1, p. 14.

referred to above does not find pleasure in our music because he does not understand it. In the concrete, a subjective element varying with each individual is introduced; the main source of diversity being the complexity of the mental factors that are involved.

D'Urfé has not ignored this problem, and he makes Hylas defend the subjective view that the only reliable criterion of beauty is the pleasure it gives to the spectator. Hylas' reasoning would be better understood by the modern world than the high theorising of Adamas or Sylvandre, although the one does not contradict the other; Hylas speaks of concrete beauty, and rightly emphasizes the subjective element in its appreciation. He is wrong, however, in paying practically no attention to the constant element of beauty which is its objective reality. He is far from the radical stand taken by modern subjectivists, who reject objectivism as a theory, yet he is their direct ancestor. To him beauty and ugliness are practically nothing but subjective feelings; for, what we now call beautiful, we may at another time or under different circumstances call ugly: "O ignorant of beauty," said Hylas, "what can you call beautiful except what pleases you. . . . Beauty is nothing more than the opinion of him who judges it to be such. My friend, tell me, in what does beauty consist if you deny that it is the opinion of him who regards it? . . . A flat nose, a large mouth and drooping ears, are thought beautiful in a dog while the same are called ugly in a man." . . .[31]

[31] "O ignorant en beauté, s'escria Hylas? et qu'est-ce que tu appelles beau, sinon ce qui plaist? j'advoue, dit Corilas, que la beauté plaist, mais non pas, que tout ce qui plaist soit beau; de mesme, que ce que le goust depravé juge bon, ne doit pas estre estimé tel pour cela. Et quoy, mon amy, reprit Hylas, es-tu devenu disciple de Sylvandre? penses-tu peut estre, comme luy, que la beauté soit une proportion et un meslange de couleurs? O que tu es deceu, si tu as cette croyance; la beauté n'est rien qu'une opinion de celuy qui la juge telle, et pour te monstrer que ie te dis vray, quand une fille a la bouche et l'oreille petite, le nez bien proportionne, la peau sans rides, le teint vif, et un embonpoint convenable, n'est ce pas Corilas ce que tu appelles beauté? il est vray, respondit le Berger: or dis moy maintenant, reprit l'inconstant, la beauté et la laideur sont-elles mere et fille l'une de l'autre, ou bien ne sont elles pas contraires? il est certain, dit Corilas, que la beauté n'engendra jamais la laideur, et qu'elles sont tellement contraires, que l'une ne peut-estre sans destruire l'autre. Or avoüe moy donc, reprit Hylas, que la beauté et la laideur ne sont qu'une opinion, puis que ie te vay monstrer que ce que bien souvent nous estimons beau nous semble laid, selon que l'opinion nous le commande. Quand un chien à le nez bien camus, la bouche fendue extraordinairement, les oreilles bien avalées, et les babines pendantes et plissees a grosses rides, ne dit-on pas qu'il est fort beau, et toutesfois n'est-ce pas le contraire de ce que maintenant tu appelles beau? tu aurois quelque raison, repliqua Corilas, en sousriant, si la beauté d'une femme et celle d'un chien estoient une mesme chose. Non, non, dit Hylas, cette excuse n'est point recevable, et si tu estois aussi sçavant que ton maitre Sylvandre, ie te demanderois s'il y a une Idee de la beauté, et ie m'assure qu'il ne me nieroit pas, et qu'il diroit avec moy, que plus les choses belles s'en approchent, et plus elles doivent aussi estre estimees et belles et parfaites; mais avec toy mon amy qui ne voles pas si haut, il faut, que ie te donne des demonstrations plus aisees et plus sensibles. Tu penses donc m'avoir bien respondu quand tu as dit, que la beauté des femmes et des chiens n'est pas semblable,

In opposition to Hylas, Corilas rightly appeals to the beauty special to each type which Rodin would call "truth."[32] As explained above, the beauty of each species or variety within the species is a reality willed by God, and is the standard according to which all the individuals in that group must be rated; the closer they come to the standard type the more perfect they are at least objectively. What is true in Hylas' contention is that the appreciation of beauty will be always an equation between the object and the man who apprehends it. What varies is not the object but the subjective viewpoint. In spite of innumerable variations in the object, there is a type of beauty perfect in its own way, and yet appealing especially to some admirers better prepared to like and understand one rather than another. But it is one thing to say that we do not see the beauty placed by God in an object and another to give our impressions as the proper interpretation of that beauty. One may prefer, as Hylas points out, a straight or a flat nose, but it remains true that the action of the Creator is manifest in either case and that each represents a certain type of beauty. The immediate result of beauty is to give pleasure, but this by no means exhausts its finality; for, a more fundamental function is to lead man to give God the glory which is His due on account of the objective beauty He has placed in creation.

A certain amount of subjectivism is unavoidable, and to a certain extent is even intended by God. He has lavished beauty, goodness and truth everywhere and as no creature can perceive it all, He endows certain individuals with a special aptitude to see certain phases of it. One will have a special fitness for appreciating beauty in nature, another will be moved more strongly by art, one will delight in music, another in painting, etc.; yet it is also the purpose of God that man should fit himself for passing a sound judgment in aesthetics as he does in the appreciation of goodness and truth. Honoré d'Urfé also recognizes the necessity of education; when explaining the high

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mais que m'allegueras tu, quand ie te montreray que ce qu'aux femmes l'on estime beauté, en elles-mes est estimé le contraire: les Gaulois disent que les plus blanches, voire mesmes quand cette blancheur est telle qu'elles s'approchent de la pasleur, sont les plus belles, les Mores estiment celles qui sont les plus noires. . . . Or mon amy, dis moy maintenant en quoy consiste la beauté, si tu me nies que ce soit en l'opinion de celuy qui la regarde, et ne me dis plus que Alexis soit plus belle que Stelle, puis que si tu le juges ainsi par les reigles de ton pays, moy qui suis de Camargue, je te diray que selon celles du lieu de ma naissance il n'y a rien qui soit si beau que ce qui plaist." *Astrée*, IV, 2, pp. 122 f.

[32] Rodin, *Art*, pp. 25 ff.

idealism and the well developed reasoning powers of Sylvandre he bases them on the training he received at the school of the Massilians.[33] Corilas wishes to develop his faculties in contact with this philosopher of the *Astrée.* Many characters come to Forez not only to consult the fountain of love, but also to become acquainted with, and learn from, these high-minded shepherds who are living such ideal lives. Among others, we may refer to the story of Doris and Palemon,[34] that of Euric, Daphnide and Alcidon[35] and that of Cryseide and Arimant.[36]

In many of the texts and episodes in which d'Urfé speaks of beauty, he connects it with love in such a way as to make it the starting point and basis of the latter. This fact needs a few words of explanation: d'Urfé concretizes everything and it is not as a concept but as a practical fact that he shows the two together. As we have noticed above, one faculty does not remain idle while another one works, but the whole man apprehends the whole object. What makes a thing beautiful is the same thing which, considered under a different aspect, makes it attractive and generates love. If the object is really beautiful, it is also under certain aspects attractive and desirable. In the act of admiring an object there is almost always an element of affection, and the affective faculties enter for so much into every aesthetic pleasure. This theory of the close connection between love and beauty is given very definitely in his philosophical work, *Les Epistres morales* where he insists that "love is a desire of beauty; beauty and goodness are mingled together, for nothing can be beautiful which is not good, nor good which is not beautiful. Now, goodness is God, because God alone is essentially good, and as He cannot be divided, it follows that to desire beauty is to desire goodness and to desire goodness is to desire God. That only is amiable which is virtue; therefore to be loved, the true lover must make himself virtuous It is certain that the body can be loved, but cannot love. Hence, if the lover wishes to be loved by the one whom he loves, this can be accomplished only through the beauty of the soul.[37] . . . Even without

[33] *Astrée,* I, 8, etc.
[34] *Astrée,* II, 9, pp. 453 ff.
[35] *Ibid.,* III, 3, pp. 130 ff.
[36] *Astrée,* III, 7, pp. 618 ff.
[37] L'Amour est un désir de beauté, la beauté et la bonté se confondent ensemble; car rien ne peut estre beau qui ne soit bon, ny bon qui ne soit beau, ainsi que Platon nous enseigne dans le Sympose. Or la bonté, c'est Dieu; car Dieu seul est bon, lequel ne se pouvant diviser il s'ensuit que désirer la beauté, c'est désirer la bonté, et désirer la bonté c'est désirer Dieu. . . . Ce qui est seul aymable, c'est

going to the heights of this idealism, it is evident that the relation between certain forms of aesthetic pleasure and love is so close that sometimes it is hard to know where the one ends and the other begins. When the two are present together, as often in concrete, it is not always possible to draw the line. If they are what they should be, both beauty and love will finally lead to God from Whom they both spring.[38]

Hylas makes use of this close relationship between love and beauty and from it attempts to justify his own inconstancy. Beauty, he says, is the work of God and therefore we must admire whatever is beautiful out of respect to God; since love follows beauty we must change our love as often as we find something new to admire. If he transfers his love from Phylis to Alexis, he claims that it is simply because he has found Alexis more beautiful than Phylis.[39] But Hylas' love can hardly be called love; Sylvandre conceives love as unifying two souls, but for Hylas it is a mere whim without depth or sincerity. In quest of new thrills in aesthetics he is also in quest of new thrills in affection; his love is constantly shifting as does his appreciation of the beautiful because they have no objective foundation.

But although d'Urfé unites beauty and love in the concrete, he does not confound the two terms and for him each of them has its own definition. We have seen that the faculties directly

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la vertu; donc, pour estre aymé, le vray amant se rendra vertueux. Il est tout certain que le corps peut bien estre aymé, mais non pas aymer, comme dit Platon, il faut par necessité que ce soit les beautez de l'âme. . . ." Quoted by Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 84.

The discourse of Sylvandre who claims that Diane is so beautiful that she commands full surrender in love illustrates this: "Confessons-luy, dites vous, que vostre beauté l'ait attaint un peu, et par ce moyen il soit en quelque sorte à vous. Est-il possible si vous avez recogneu les perfections de Diane, que vous puissiez croire que l'on les puisse aymer un peu? O ignorante de la force de sa beauté! Jamais il ne part de sa main coup qui ne porte jusques au coeur, et le coeur n'est jamais attaint que la blessure n'en soit mortelle. . . ." *Astrée*, III, 9, pp. 882 ff.

[38] The Church recognizes the close relationship between beauty and goodness. She always encourages beauty in her places of worship, their decoration and in her liturgy. She has preserved very carefully the works of art of the pagan world because she knows that beauty as such is a manifestation of God and will ultimately lead back to Him. Above all she knows that the natural result of beauty is to promote love. She correctly interprets the pronouncements of the inspired writers and of the Master Himself, Who often bases the idea of faith and loving trust in God on the contemplation of the beauty of creation. "Consider the lilies, how they grow: they labor not, neither do they spin. But I say to you, not even Solomon in all his glory was clothed like one of these. Now if God clothe in this manner the grass that is to-day in the field, and tomorrow is cast into the oven; how much more you. O ye of little faith?" St. Luke, XII, 27-28: St. Matthew, VI, 28-30.

[39] "Que l'inconstance, respondit Hylas, soit bonne ou mauvaise, c'est une question qui ne sera vidée aisement, mais que la cause n'en soit inconnue, ou si nous la cognoissons qu'elle ne vienne des Dieux, Ah, Tyrcis! il faut que vous le confessiez, ou que chacun recognoisse qu'en vos larmes vous avez pleuré votre cerveau, car la beauté n'est ce pas un oeuvre de nostre grand Tautates? Et qu'est-ce qui me fait changer que cette beauté? Si Alexis n'eust pas esté plus belle que Phylis, je n'eusse jamais change celle-cy pour elle; que si vous niez que la beauté en soit la cause, il faut bien qu'elle soit incognue à toute autre, puis que je ne la cognoy pas moy-mesme, estant telle, pourquoy ne la rapporterons-nous pas à Dieu sans blaspheme?" *Astrée*, III, 1, pp. 49 f.

brought into play in the contemplation of beauty are largely cognitive, while those employed in the prosecution of the good are effective. D'Urfé says: "It is by the eyes that love begins but it is not, nevertheless, by the eyes that it has its formal origin, neither are they the producers of it. Beauty and Goodness being perceived are doubtless those which give rise to it in us. Now the recognition of beauty comes indeed through the eyes, but once it is in the soul, we no longer have to depend on the eyes for loving in the future, a thing you can easily understand, if you have ever loved something; for, enter into yourself and consider if you would lose all love as soon as you should lose your eyes," etc.[40]

Such, then, in their main outlines are the theories of aesthetics evolved by Honoré d'Urfé in the *Astrée*. Beauty has its source in God, and should lead back to Him. Man perceives this beauty mainly through his cognitive faculties and derives a special pleasure from the manifestation of its harmonious variety. God has not only created various types of beauty but He has also endowed certain individuals with special aptitudes for appreciating its various phases, so that the pleasure produced is the result of both an objective reality and of a subjective reaction; therefore we should all educate ourselves to appreciate beauty somewhat as God does; for the more we are able to reduce things to unity, the purer and higher our pleasure will be. D'Urfé associates beauty with goodness, but does not identify them; one leads to the other, but each retains its specific concept. However they have both the same general function, viz., to show man's superiority over lower creation, and to point to his higher destiny. This is beautifully expressed by d'Urfé in his *Epistres morales:* "O lowly heart, too unworthy to be associated with reason! Why think you, were you created in the form of man? Were it solely to enjoy this life why should you be different from the animals? Can it be that this ray of the

[40] "Nous avons deja dit, que c'est par les yeux que l'Amour commence: mais ce n'est pas toutesfois des yeux qu'elle naist, ny ce ne sont point ceux qui la produisent; la beauté et la bonté estant cogneuës sont sans plus celle qui luy donnent naissance en nous: or la cognoissance de la beauté vient bien par les yeux, mais depuis qu'elle est en nostre ame, nous n'avons plus affaire de nos yeux pour l'aimer à l'avenir: ce que vous jugerez aisement, si vous avez jamais aime quelquechose: car entrez en vous mesme, et considerez si vous perdriez toute Amour encore que vous perdissiez les yeux? si cela n'est point, vous advouerez que les yeux ne conservent donc pas vostre Amour. Pour la cognoissance de la bonté, elle est produite en des actions ou des paroles, qui toutes deux ont bien besoin de presence pour estre cogneuës, mais apres, nullement car cette cognoissance se conserve dans les secrets cabinets de la memoire, sur laquelle nostre ame se repliant, apperçoit ce qu'elle y a mis en reserve." *Astrée,* II, 1, p. 11.

divinity which is in you should be so overpowered by the cravings of your lower nature that there remains little of the idealism which should motivate the actions of a true man? To satisfy the body with food, rest, or the other pleasures is not the end of man. For as the atom of calamite is drawn almost instinctively to the larger mass, so must the spark of the divinity which resides in our soul ever seek to fly back to the great flame of which it is but a part, for it alone can and should be its final rest. Thus the destiny of man is to search by means of his reasoning powers the principle of his being and not to be led into the delusion that this material body is the most beautiful thing in the universe."[41]

[41] "O coeur abattu et trop indigne d'estre joint avec la raison! Pourquoy penses-tu que tu sois né homme? Si, c'estoit seulement pour vivre, pourquoy t'aurait-on fait different des autres animaux? Est-il possible que se rayon de la divinité, qui reste mis en toy, soit tellement estouffe sous la cendre de tes ordures qu'il ne luy reste encores quelque qeu de chaleur pour t'esmouvoir aux actions du vray homme? Saouler son corps de viandes, de repos et de telle volupté, n'est pas la fin de l'homme. Comme la plus petite piece de la calamite se laisse tirer à la plus grande par un certain instinct que toute partie a de se rejoindre à son tout, de mesme il faut que ceste estincelle de la divinité, qui est en nostre âme, revole tousjours à cette grande flamme dont elle est partie, pour se reunir avec son tout qui doit et peut estre seulement son repos. C'est donc la fin de l'homme de chercher avec la raison, son principe, et non pas croire que ce bourbier du corps soit la plus belle eau de l'univers." Quoted in Chagny, *Un Ligueur,* p. 120.

Chapter IV.

Application of Theories of Beauty to Nature.

I. Rational Beings.

As we have shown in the preceding chapter Honoré d'Urfé finds the origin of all beauty in God. Created objects receive a ray of this divine beauty, in proportion to their capacity determined by the scale of nearness to the great archetype. Thus Nature is to him a concrete revelation of the beauty of the Creator, and in the light of this, he applies his aesthetic principles to the various beauties of the world around him.

For him, human beings are the highest visible expression of the great artist. But mere physical perfection does not suffice for the highest ideal of human beauty; what he would have his readers seek is a corresponding perfection of intellectual and emotional life which are a more direct reflection of the Divinity. Imperfect reasoning powers would prevent man from distinguishing between moral beauty and ugliness, and thus lead the will to moral deformity. And because the rational soul is characteristic of man, making him different from animals, it would be better to have a deformed body than an imperfect soul.[1]

D'Urfé's idea of manly beauty can be disposed of in a few words as he does not enter into detail on this matter. Alcippe had a beautiful face, golden curling hair which he wore long, when he started forth on his adventures.[2] Speaking of the shepherd Damon, he says: "Consider the delicate and well proportioned features of his face, his body, straight, tall, beautiful with the soft roundness of youth." Asphale is "adroit en toute sorte d'exercice, propre et gentil en ses habits, gracieux et vif en ses discours, courtois envers les bergères," etc.[3]

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[1] ". . . les maladies de l'ame sont pires que celles du corps: car pour la raison que vous alleguez, elle n'est pas considerables, en ce que l'ame, quoy qu'elle ne produise les effets tels que ceux des autres hommes, si la cause en vient du defaut du corps, ne laisse pour cela d'estre raisonnable, comme nous voyons en ceux qui sont surpris du vin. Or le mal d'Adraste vient sans doute de la foiblesse de son cerveau, qui n'a pu soustenir le grand coup que l'ordonnance de la Nymphe Leonide luy a donné: mais celuy d'Hylas procede d'un jugement imparfait, qui luy empeche de discerner ce qui est bon ou mauvais, et qui par ce defaut porte sa volonté aux vices dont il a fait habitude." *Astrée*, III, 1, p. 54; cf. IV, 2, p. 143 and see above p. 86.

[2] *Astrée*, I, 2, p. 98.

[3] *Astrée*, I, 11, p. 652; IV, 6, p. 620.

Woman holds the most honorable position in the scheme of aesthetic values evolved by Honoré d'Urfé. She is for him the great masterpiece of the Creator, and because of this she occupies a unique place in his ideal society: "I assert with truth that women are more truly meritorious than men, so that if we were permitted to put some creature between these pure and immortal intelligences and ourselves, I believe that women should be placed there; for, they are so superior in perfection that it would be an injustice to them to put them on the same level with men. Moreover, we can rightly consider them as a means of attaining to those pure intelligences, since we know by experience that the most beautiful thoughts of men have their origin in women, and that it is towards them that they flow and in them that they terminate. And who can doubt that they are the true means of attaining to these ideal heights, and that God has placed them on earth to draw us by them to that heaven, which, our Druids tell us, will be our eternal happiness. As for me, I acknowledge it, I believe it and am ready to maintain it to the end of my life.[4]

D'Urfé here expresses one of the achievements of Christianity, for in raising woman from an inferior position to the highest pinnacle in human society, it has made her almost an intermediary between the purely spiritual and man. Dante, the greatest of Christian poets, has given a beautiful expression to this spirit, by idealizing woman both as an inspirer and a helpmeet to man. It has been found that a society from which women are banished tends to coarseness and vulgarity, while the companionship of the sexes on the basis of respect and equality always tends to refinement and to the encouragement of the arts and letters. This exaltation of womanhood, purity, gentleness and glorification of pure love, advocated by d'Urfé, would have the effect of turning society from the sordid and the trivial to more noble aspirations.

[4] "Car j'avouë et je l'avouë avec verité, que les femmes sont veritablement plus pleines de merite que les hommes, voire de telle sorte, que s'il est permis de mettre quelque creature entre ces pures et immortelles intelligences, et nous: je croy que les femmes y doivent estre, parce qu'elles nous surpassent de tant en perfection, que c'est en quelque sorte leur faire tort, que de les mettre en un mesme rang avec les hommes: outre que nous pouvons avec raison les estimer un juste milieu pour parvenir à ces pures pensées (c'est ainsi que les plus sçavans les nomment presque ordinairement), puis que nous apprenons par l'experience que c'est d'elles que toutes les plus belles pensées que les hommes ont, prennent leur naissance, et que c'est vers elles qu'elles courent, et en elles qu'elles se terminent: Et qui doutera qu'elles ne soient le vray moyen pour parvenir à ces pures pensées, et que Dieu ne nous les ait proposées en terre pour nous attirer par elles au Ciel, où nos Druydes nous disent devoir estre notre eternel contentement? Quant à moy, je l'avouë, je le croy, et je suis prest à le maintenir jusque à la fin de ma vie: . . ." *Astrée*, III, 9, pp. 878.

In his attempt to show the elevated role of woman in the society which he proposed as an ideal, d'Urfé made her position rather too high. This place proved untenable and in a measure led to oversentimentality in the literature and art of the time.[5] In describing feminine beauty, he generally follows traditional types which were more or less modified by the ideas of the Renaissance. For instance, the social trend began to be reflected in the "Holy conversations"[6] peculiar to the Venetian school, carried forward by an additional beauty of form and ideal background in Giorgione.[7] There was also a decided change in the Madonna; the ascetic Gothic type slowly lost favor and in its place appeared a beautiful form. The change however was gradual, for Crivelli's "virgins" are still slim, nervous, with rich clinging draperies. Cima merely takes these forms and by giving contour and roundness marks a contrast to the earlier ones of his master. Titian expresses the change more completely and prepares the way for Tintoretto and his followers who show the more voluptuous forms of the full Renaissance. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the Gioconda of Leonardo da Vinci had become the accepted type of profane beauty and into it entered an intellectual element and a more profound study of psychology than was common in the earlier types. It is possible that the author of the *Astrée* had seen and admired the famous canvas of Leonardo and endeavored to describe its qualities in his heroine, for, he does not insist so much on the physical characteristics of *Astrée;* it is the beauty of her soul and mind, reflected through her corporal perfections, that urges Celadon to the highest and greatest sacrifices for her sake.

[5] The gallantry and chivalrous love which the reading of the *Astrée* brought again into fashion in the seventeenth century are an indirect inheritance of the feudal customs of Provence in which were developed in the eleventh century the ideas of social refinement which form the foundation for our modern code. It was through Italy, primarily, that Provence later exerted its influence on French society. The poetry of Provence as well as its social system was transplanted early into that country and profoundly influenced its great centers of social life, Palermo and Naples. When in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Italy was divided into a number of independent principalities, the forms of social culture had become so fixed and conventional that they were accepted at the courts of Urbino, Ferrara, Mantua and Milan, to mention only the chief. In Provence the seat of culture was the feudal castle. In Italy, where the feudal system never took deep hold, the palace of the prince in the city, and later, the villa in the country were the scenes of this life. The Platonic philosophy introduced into Italy about the fifteenth century produced a slight change in the Provençal system. These modified forms the Italians transmitted to France where they presented features similar to the older ones: social life was restricted to the salon; out-of-door sports formed a relatively small part in this life; the garden was merely an extension of the drawing room as shown by its formal arrangement.

[6] So called because several male and female saints and Scriptural characters are represented as if engaged in conversation, see Reinach, *Story of Art throughout the Ages*, p. 152; Reinach, *Apollo*, p. 166.

[7] See for instance his *Rural Concert* in the Louvre.

Raphael's rounded and opulent forms are also the negation of the ideal of Gothic art. His "Virgins" show a fusing of the ethereal and the sensual, of the pagan and Christian components of the new spirit. Michel Angelo shows another feature of the same idea. His feminine figures, robust and vigorous, exhibit the upward striving and restrained movement characteristic of the great artist. The delicacy and sentiment of the whole movement culminated in the "Mystic Marriage" of St. Catherine by Correggio.[8] Boccaccio was indebted to these masters of the Renaissance when he drew his types. These were taken over and completed by his compatriot Ariosto whose graceful Angelica was the great model of womanly beauty for Ronsard and the Pleiade.

Thus we can trace a direct ancestry to the principal characters of the *Astrée* of d'Urfé. The description of the beauty of Galatée is evidently inspired by these masters: "Les cheveux au gré du vent s'alloient recrespants en ondes, n'estans couverts que d'un chappeau de Verveine. Vous eussiez veu ce bras nud, et ceste jambe blanche comme albastre, le tout gras et poli, en sorte qu'il n'y avoit point d'apparence d'os, la greve longue et droite, et le pied petit et mignard qui faisoit honte à ceux de Thetis."[9] The latter trait mentioned comes directly from Ronsard's *Elegie à Janet:* "Portraits-luy de Thetis—les pieds estroits et les talons petits."[10] *The Ode à la Fontaine* by Bellerine may also have inspired our author.[11]

The descriptions of the nymphs in the *Astrée* are taken in almost every detail from similar ones in the *Amadis of Gaul:* Oriane, in the Amadis, had allowed her hair which was naturally curled and of a silvery blond to fall free; it was tied simply with a cherry colored ribbon, so that the curls floated on her neck and shoulders; she was clothed in a robe of light gold cloth embroidered with flowers, and caught on the arms and waist with roses of precious stones. Her complexion, ordinarily animated with a lively color, was at this moment of a brilliance not equalled except by that of her beautiful eyes, which, black as they were, joined to their ordinary vivacity the sweet languor of

[8] Cf. Peyre, *Histoire générale des Beaux-Arts,* p. 469; Reinach, *The Story of Art throughout the Ages,* p. 87; *Apollo,* pp. 205 f.
[9] *Astrée,* I, 5, p. 258.
[10] Ronsard, *Oeuvres complètes,* I, *Les Amours,* p. 256; cf. Fischer, *The Literary Relations between Honoré d'Urfé and La Fontaine,* p. 83.
[11] Cf. Fischer, *The Literary Relations,* p. 83.

the blue.[12] In the *Astrée* the three nymphs whom Celadon mistook for the three Graces are thus described: "Their free flowing hair, which waved over their shoulders was covered by a garland of divers pearls: the throat was uncovered, the sleeves of their robes turned up as far as the elbows from which a pleated linomple fell to the hand. Here two large bracelets of pearls seemed to hold them. Each one had at her side a quiver full of arrows, and carried in her hand an ivory bow. The end of their robes was turned up in front allowing their buskins, gilded half way, to appear.[13]

Astrée has also the traditional golden hair floating over her shoulders, beautiful eyes, brilliant color and the author makes references to the snowy whiteness of her neck, her teeth of ivory, and the musical quality of her voice.[14]

Many conventional phrases are used by d'Urfé to paint the beauty of limb or feature of his heroines. He speaks of the "tresses d'or flottant sur les epaules," the arm is always "blanc et poly comme de l'albastre," or "le col comme colomme d'albastre" and the mouth of his heroine is "le corail de la bouche" and the "ivoire de ses dents." He describes a concrete type of feminine beauty founded on tradition but also based on real characters rather than on abstract speculations; however, he puts into the mouth of Hylas, the subjectivist, some departures from this ideal. This is justified in his curious dissertation on the varying types of beauty in different countries.[15]

A distinctively French type is presented in the description given by Hylas of Chryséide:

". . . Il y avoit quatre Dames, vestues tout autrement que les nostres, leurs robes estoient volantes, leurs manches si estroites, que la forme du bras paroissoit, le bas de la robe sans plis, et tellement coupé sur le corps, que la rondeur du ventre se discernoit, leurs fraises grandes et à gros bouillons, dont les bords brilloient tout à l'entour des petites paillettes d'or, leurs cheveux fort relevez par le devant, horsmis quelques-uns qui estoient frisez, qu'elles laissoient nonchalament tomber sur le visage: au haut de la coiffure, par le derriere estoit attachée une gaze . . . Ses cheveux estoient entre-blonds, et

[12] Quoted in Germa, *L'Astrée*, p. 123.
[13] *Astrée*, I, 2, p. 82.
[14] *Astrée*, I, 4, pp. 184 ff.
[15] *Astrée*, IV, 7, pp. 649 f.; see above p. 52.

chastains, son teint si beau, qu'il faisoit honte au satin le plus blanc, l'oeil et le sourcil noir, mais l'oeil si vif, qu'il perçoit d'un seul coup iusques au centre du coeur, sa bouche si rouge, qu'on l'eust iugée du plus vif coral qui se trouve, le col un peu long, mais si blanc, si rond et si uny, qu'il semble une colomme d'albastre, et qui s'aprochant de la gorge s'alloit eslargissant peu à peu d'une si juste proportion, qu'il faisoit iuger l'embonpoint et de tout le reste du corps:"[16]

So typical is the picture which Dorinde gives of the costume worn by court ladies at the chase that without much stretching of the imagination it could also be taken as a portrait of La Grande Mademoiselle on her way to the relief of the city of Orleans, in 1652. ". . . nos robbes de couleurs, toutes chargees et d'or et d'argent jointes au corps, les manches à demy-coupees, les escharpes en broderie r'attachees à gros chattons sur l'espaule, le reste flottant au gré du vent, les chappeauz dont les cordons de pierreries estinceloient autant que les rayons du Soleil, les pannaches qui couvroient presque une partie du chappeau, nos cheveux qui relevez et ennelez au droit du front s'en alloient ondoyans le long de nos jouës, comme s'eust esté par nonchalance, les tours de perles qui separoient le col de la gorge, et les pendants d'oreille, qui sembloient autant d'estoiles esclattantes, bref tout le reste de nostre habit augmentoit de sorte la beauté naturelle qui pouvoit estre en nous, que veritablement nous y avions toutes un tres grand avantage."[17]

A new type of feminine beauty is to be traced in all these descriptions where d'Urfé departs somewhat from the traditional idea. All are young, slender, graceful beings, displaying the gay wit of a Watteau. Phylis "qui de son naturel estoit gaye"[18] is an impersonation of ideal womanhood. She is the young French girl who conceals under a spritely demeanor many admirable qualities, Leonide, the beautiful nymph, sacrifices herself unceasingly for the happiness of others. In his drawing of the heroine, Astrée, Honoré seems to dwell rarely on her physical perfections but one of the most original pictures in the story is found in the description of Astrée asleep in the woods: Elle avoit un mouchoir dessus

[16] *Astrée*, III, 7, p. 595 f.
[17] *Astrée*, IV, 7, p. 649 f; cp. Portrait of La Grande Mademoiselle, in Arvède Barine, *La Grande Mademoiselle*, p. 400.
[18] *Astrée*, I, 7, p. 364.

les yeux, qui luy cachoit une partie du visage, un bras sous la teste, et l'autre estendu le long de la cuisse, et le cottilon un peu retrousé par megarde, ne cachoit pas entierement la beauté de la jambe: et d'autant que son corps de jupe la serroit un peu, elle s'estoit deslacée, n'avoit rien sur le sein qu'un mouchoir de resoul au travers duquel la blancheur de sa gorge paroissoit merveilleusement; du bras qu'elle avoit sous la teste, on voyoit la manche avalée jusques sous le coude, permettant ainsi la veuë d'un bras blanc et potelé, dont les veines pour la delicatesse de la peau, par leur couleur bleuë descouvroient leurs divers passages. Et quoyque de ceste main elle tint la coiffure que la nuict s'estoit destachee, si est que pour serrer trop negligement, une partie de ses cheveux restoit esparce sur la jouë et l'autre prise à quelques ronces qui estoient voisines."[19] Her character shows, indeed, a very human mingling of defects and virtues. Far from being the perfect creature of the older writers, she at one time displays sweetness of disposition, at another, undue severity. She is a credulous girl, cold and proud in her treatment of Celadon, but when she thinks him to be dead her repentance equals her former severity.

Diane is d'Urfé's ideal of feminine character, she is of course beautiful corporally, but her sprightly wit and gift of repartee are more interesting to the author. In her elevation of soul he embodies some of the most admired feminine qualities, her tact and sympathy on the occasions in which she is called on to settle questions proposed by the other shepherds, her keen intellect, and above all the compassion and tenderness exhibited towards Sylvandre call forth the respect and love of all, even of Hylas.

It is particularly on the question of human beauty that we should remember and apply the principles of aesthetics as explained by Honoré d'Urfé. Not only the higher perfections of the soul but the beautiful form of the body is a gift of God and should lead back to Him. This idea must have been uppermost in the mind of d'Urfé for he comes back to it again and again under different forms. The following passage taken from many similar ones is to the point. Lycidas coldly received by Phylis exclaims: "O God, if Thou art angry at me for worshipping the work of Thy hands (apparently) more than I do

[19] *Astrée*, II, 8, p. 420.

Thee, remember that Thou hast caused me to commit this error. If Thou didst not wish Phylis to be adored Thou shouldst have placed less perfection in her, or in me less power to realize it; for would it not be a profanation against a being of so much merit to offer her less affection?"[20]

This viewpoint of d'Urfé must be insisted on and must always be supposed even when not explicitly expressed. What an improvement it would be for modern society, selfish, superficial and pleasure-mad, if this religious view of beauty and attractiveness was understood and applied in real life!

[20] *Astrée*, I, 4, p. 199.

Chapter V.

Application of the Theories of Beauty to Nature.
(Continued)

II. Irrational Nature.

As explained above, Honoré d'Urfé divides created beings into angelic intelligences, human reason, and lower creation. In this chapter we shall attempt to see how he applied his views of aesthetics to nature and what significance irrational creatures had for him. It should be remembered again that he is not writing on nature, but on the various manifestations of "honneste amitie" for which he always suggests a pastoral background. Thus nature is introduced mostly as an adjunct, long general descriptions in the modern sense being comparatively rare. The pictures placed before our eyes are rather light fugitive touches, isolated details and fleeting impressions, in which the author does not attempt to delve deeply into the inner meaning of nature which he has emphasized once for all in his general ideas of aesthetics. There is indeed a real, although vaguely expressed, understanding of the moral and beneficent value accruing to the individual from closer contact with it. The old romancer associates with nature the sentiments of the various characters in the story so that the human element forms the basis of all his treatment of creation. Nature's function is to serve man and to be associated with him who is its interpreter. With these remarks in mind we shall briefly analyze what d'Urfé says of animal, vegetable and inanimate nature; the last two will be treated here in a general way because we shall see that he appreciates them more when they have undergone the action of man, and thus form the link between nature and art. Under this aspect they will be treated in the section entitled "Landscape gardening."

A. Animals in the Astrée.

Reure suggests that the sympathetic treatment of animals in the *Astrée* gave direction to that great lover of the story, La

Fontaine, who often expressed his admiration for it, and from which he drew, besides the material for his unsuccessful tragedy,[1] many of his "images champêtres."[2]

D'Urfé's treatment of animals is, nevertheless, not moralistic like that of La Fontaine, nor scientific like the studies of Buffon, but poetic, artistic and always sympathetic. The animals singled out for mention are in harmony with the general character of the story. The horse, the great companion of man in the ages of chivalry, receives scant attention in this pastoral. But our sympathy is claimed for the faithful dog which is described with kindly insight as studying his master's wishes in order to forestall them.[3] This is plainly a favorite animal; d'Urfé becomes enthusiastic in speaking of it, which he does frequently showing an intimate knowledge of its habits.[4] In the paragraph in which Diane speaks of the watch-dog of Astrée, Melampe, she enters into a detailed description of his appearance.[5]

Sheep give a pleasant touch to the pastoral scenes and are picturesquely disposed in the landscape, "some reposing lazily in the shade, others watching two rams fight." From this incident Honoré proceeds to draw a moral for his readers, "one of the animals lowers his head in such a way that his opponent meets only his horns," the shortening of the neck signifies that "la vertue unie a plus de force."[6] Another flock is pictured farther on, some ruminating, others with their noses to the ground "pour en tirer la fraischeur," and Sylvandre describes the ancestor of the beribboned lamb of the pastoral art of the next two centuries. Astrée's pet lamb is pure white "except for black spots on the ears, around the eyes and on the extremities of

[1] La Fontaine, *Astrée*, tragedie, réprésentée à l'Académie Royale de Musique, Paris, 1691; cf. Fischer, *La Fontaine and the Astrée of Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 16 ff.; Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 301 ff.

[2] Reure, *op. cit.* pp. 256 ff.

[3] "Voicy son chien qui le suit: prenez garde avec quel soing ce fidele animal considere son maistre, car cependant qu'il regarde dans la fontaine, il semble, tant il a les yeux tendus sur luy, d'estre desireux de sçavoir qui le rend si esbahy. Que si vous considerez l'estonnement qui est peint en son visage, vous jugerez bien qu'il en doit avoir une grande occasion." *Astrée*, I, 11, p. 657.

[4] ". . . au lieu que les chiens qui dorment sans soucy, ont accoustumé de se mettre en rond et bien souvent se cachent la teste sous les pattes, presque pour se desrober la clarté, ceux qui sont peints icy sont couchez d'une autre sorte, pour monstrer qu'ils ne dorment pas, mais reposent seulement: car ils sont couchez le long des jambes de devant, tenans tousjours les yeux ouverts aussi curieusement qu'un homme sçauroit faire." *Astrée*, I, 11, p. 649.

[5] "Il est bien reconnoissable aux marques qu'il porte. Voyez la moitié de la teste comme il l'a blanche; et l'autre noire, et sur l'oreille noire la marque blanche; si l'autre oreille n'estoit cachée, il y a apparence que nous y verrions la marque noire, car le peu qui s'en void au haut de la teste, et au dessus paroist estre blanc: voyez aussi cette marque blanche tout autour du col en façon de colier, et l'échancrure ou poil noir, qui se tournant en demy Lune dessus les epaules, finit de mesme sur la crouppe, où le blanc recommence," etc. *Astrée*, II, 5, p. 234.

[6] *Astrée*, I, 11, p. 648.

the limbs, and in order to distinguish it from the others, observe the ribbons which decorate its horns like a garland."[7] D'Urfé's full sympathy is extended to these animals as he describes their sufferings from the glaring sun, and Diane gives Sylvandre an opportunity to show his devotion for her in alleviating the pain of one of her lambs.[8] Apart from their external interest, both dog and sheep on account of their relation to human beings, strike a sympathetic chord in the reader and are intended to evoke a whole series of images on the ideal happiness of the pastoral life.[9]

Birds too enter into these pictures of nature: The woods about the Lignon are filled with feathered songsters whose warbling for the delectation of the shepherds and shepherdesses are a delight to their visitors weary of the artificiality of town life. A dainty poetic fancy of the author of the *Astrée* is his introduction of larks in one scene as they seem to rise throbbing with song, in their flight "se vont seichans de la rosés au nouveau Soleil."[10] Again in describing the home of Eleuman and

[7] "La brebis qu'Astrée aime le plus; la voila toute blanche sinon les oreilles qu'elle a noires, le nez le tour des yeux, le bout de la queuë et l'extremité des jambes, et afin qu'elle ne fust pas méconnuë regardez les noeuds que je luy ay veu plusieurs fois à l'entour des cornes en façon de guirlande." *Astrée,* I, 5, p. 660.

[8] "Diane . . . tenoit sa chere brebis en son giron, comme si elle eust esté morte. Quelquefois elle luy souffloit à la bouche, et d'autrefois luy mettoit du sel dedans. . . . Silvandre s'en approcha, et apres l'avoir saluée, il luy demanda ce qu'elle faisoit en terre: vous le pouvez voir luy dit-elle, sans que je le vous die, si vous regardez en quel estat est ma chere Florette. Le Berger se mettant lors à genoux, la considera attentivement: puis luy toucha les aureilles, luy regarda la langue dessus, et dessous, la leva sur ses pieds, et enfin luy boucha les nazeaux avec les doights pour empecher de respirer," etc. *Astrée,* II, 1, p. 21.

[9] Some of the best verses of the Sireine are grouped around the scene in which the shepherd about to depart, bids farewell to his flock and to his favorite dog who also bears the name Melampe:

XLIV.

Ses moutons pres de leur Berger
Sembloient de pitié se ranger,
Ressentant le mal de leur maistre,
Et tenant les yeux dessus luy
Comme s'ils plaignoient son ennuy,
Avoient oublié de repaistre.

XLV.

Et son fidele chien aussi
Qui souloit avoir le soucy
Que le loup affamé n'outrage
Son trouppeau, pendant qu'assez loing
Le Berger racontoit son soing
Aux Nymphes du prochain boccage.

XLVI.

A ce coup, à ces pieds couché
Sembloit que l'on l'eust attaché
Sans avoir soucy de sa garde,
Le nez sur les pieds de devant,
L'oeil ouvert, l'aureille eslevant,
Attentif son maistre regarde.
(*Depart.*)

XLVII.

En ce point l'amant soucieux
De fortune tournant les yeux
Dessus ses douces brebiettes,
Mes trouppeaux, dit-il, bien-aymez,
A ma voix tant accoustumez,
Quelle perte est-ce que vous faictes!

XLVIII.

Qui vous conduira le matin
Curieux au Treffle et au Thim,
Et qui pour la chaleur soufferte
Cherchera les ruisseaux plus frais?
Qui vous remettra par apres,
Le soir en vos loges sans perte?

XLIX.

Et toy mon cher Melampe aussi,
Quand ie ne seray plus icy,
Qui sera soigneux de ton estre,
Et qui te donnera du pain?
Regretteras-tu point la main,
Mon cher Melampe, de ton maistre?

[10] *Astrée,* I, 5, p. 660.

Ericanthe, near the source of the Lignon, d'Urfé remarks that the nightingales seem to have chosen this place as their ordinary habitation, peopling the spot in such numbers as to remind us of different choirs which respond to one another, and from the desire of coming to sing among these trees they seemed to have abandoned the other parts of the country.[11]

Nocturnal birds appear in one scene, but little insistence is placed on their appearance except that they add a certain sinister touch to the picture, and a comment is made on their awkward and uncertain flight.[12]

Fish disport themselves in the clear waves of the Lignon: "On y voit l'onde claire et nette si peuplee de toutes sortes de poissons, qu'à peine se peuvent-ils couvrir de l'eau":[13]

The descriptions given of animals and their habits are always accurate. Fischer says: "Here we find a keen observation of animal life, worthy of the animal painters of the early Renaissance, of a Pisanello or a Paola Uccello."[14]

In many of these passages Honoré endows sentient life with something of man's intelligence, and shows a close sympathy with nature, something rare enough at that time, and rarer under the pompous art of Louis XIV.

B. Vegetation and Inanimate Nature.

We treat these together because they are naturally united in local description and landscapes. Detailed passages delineating nature are rare in the *Astrée,* as may be expected in a didactic romance circumscribed within narrow limits. Had d'Urfé aimed at description as such and wished to portray the sublime scenes of Nature, he could have painted the majestic Alps which he knew so well, having often crossed them in his trips to Italy and while in the service of his relative, the Duke of Savoy. Nearer home even, South and West, he would have found landscapes far grander than those to which he turned his attention. Had he looked for grace and variety, many districts are superior to that which he actually singles out for notice. But he has chosen the home of his youth as the scene of his romance. Nature

[11] "Les Rossignols qui semblant avoir choisi ce lieu pour leur demeure ordinaire, le peuplent de telle sorte, qu'on jugeroit à ouyr les divers choeurs qui se respondent à la voix les uns aux autres, qu'ils ont abandoné tous les autres endroits de la contrée, pour à l'envy venir chanter parmy ces arbres:" *Astrée,* IV, 6, 506.

[12] *Astrée,* I, 5, p. 660.

[13] *Astrée,* II, 7, p. 377.

[14] *The Literary Relations between La Fontaine and the Astrée of Honoré d'Urfé,* p. 78.

for him is that section of Forez where he spent his boyhood; and descriptions of other places are introduced into the story only to explain episodes in the various narratives. It is evident that the memories of that quiet country haunt his later years when, disillusioned by a relatively unhappy marriage, and an exile from home, he sought to set down in writing the dreams and ideals of his youth.

The country is painted with great accuracy, not only in its general outlines as in the passage quoted above but also in many incidental remarks throughout the narrative. With the *Astrée* as a guide book it would be easy to visit the country and verify the accuracy of the descriptions.[15] This section of the Forez is agreeable, fertile, somewhat hilly, but rather monotonous. The higher mountains are, broadly speaking, west of that locality; they are the background but not a part of the home of these interesting people.

Another more explicit description which may represent what d'Urfé considers as beautiful in nature is the following: "Non point trop loing de la source de nostre gentil Lignon, Eleuman et Ericanthe ont une demeure sur les bords de cette delectable riviere, qu'il semble que la Nature se soit pleuë d'embellir de tout ce qui la pouvoit rendre agreable, elle est posée sur une colline qui luy donne une veuë quoy qu'un peu limitée, a cause des autres petites montaignes assez voisines toutesfois si belle qu'il semble que ceux qui peignent des païsages ayent pris le patron sur sa situation. Lignon prend son cours au bas de cette coste, que de prés d'un coste et d'autre vont accompagnant presque autant que la veuë se peut estendre, les saussayes qui separent ces prez, et les petits fossez, par lesquels on desrobe les claires eaux de Lignon, semblent autant de petits ruisseaux qui vont abbreuvant ces belles prairies. Tout le penchant de la coline est couvert de l'ombrage de quantite d'arbres disposez en allees, par lesquelles on descend sans incommodité du Soleil, ny de la descente, jusques sur l'agreable rivage de cette claire riviere, que les fleurs presque en tout temps esmaillent de cent diverses couleurs . . . et la nature, à tant de graces, n'ayant pas voulu estre avare de ce qui pouvoit embellir entierement ce lieu, y a fait sourdre tant de fontaines tout le long de ce panchant, qu'on diroit qu'elles y sont conduites par artifice: bref, ce lieu

[15] Desforges-Maillard, the poet, actually did so, see Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 317.

est la delice et le plaisir de tous les hammeaux voisins, . . ."[16]

Such pictures, no doubt, moved Poussin to visit this charming country in order to study the landscape and choose picturesque backgrounds for his paintings.[17]

To this series of descriptive narrative we may add what d'Urfé says of Vaucluse: "Le long de ce grand fleuve du Rosne on trouve un grande nombre de belles villes, qui se semblent prendre plaisir de se mirer dans ses ondes, et de contraindre en plusieurs endroits la furie de sa course: mais l'une des plus belles et des mieux peuplées, c'est Avignon, à cinq ou si lieuës de laquelle du costé d'Orient s'estend une valée, qui pour estre close de trois costez par des hautes colines et de grands rochers, fut au commencement appelée Val-close, et en fin par corruption du langage, duquel le vulgaire ignorant, est tousjours le maistre, elle fut nommée Vaucluse: du bout de cette valée, et sous les pieds de certains grands et epouvantables rochers, sous une fontaine merveilleuse, qui donne commencement à la riviere de Sorgues, qui fort peu loing de là se separant en deux bras, fait comme une petite Isle, où est située la maison où je devois aller, et qui pour estre assise entre ces deux ruisseaux, et environnée de leurs claires ondes, a pris le nom de l'Isle. Le lieu d'où cette fontaine sort, est à la verité pour la solitude en quelque sorte venerable, mais un peu horrible pour les rochers qui y sont tout à l'entour, et pour ce fort peu frequentée des personnes."[18]

The account of a tempest forming part of the history of Eudoxe, Valentinian and Ursace, is well worth including in these examples of d'Urfé's skill in pen pictures:

"Incontinent le ciel se noircit d'une espaisse nuee, et les ondes commencement de s'eslever si hautes, qu'à peine estions nous asseurez sur cet escueil, tant les flots rompus heurtoient de furie contre le dos du rocher: c'estoit une chose espouvantable de voir le jour presque changé en nuict, d'ouir le mugissement de la mer, et de sentir l'esbranlement du rocher, par le haut des ondes. Et bref de considerer le Cahos, et la confusion de tout ce grand Element. . . ."[19]

Other pages could be cited where d'Urfé excels in such descriptive lines, but he constantly returns to his Forez. This he

[16] *Astrée*, IV, 6, p. 506 f.
[17] Cf. Bernard, *Les D'Urfé en Forez*, p. 179.
[18] *Astrée*, III, 3, pp. 167 f.
[19] *Astrée*, II, 11, p. 622.

presents as the ideal home of the shepherds for whom no spot is so beautiful and attractive as their country by the Lignon, where they can enjoy a simple quiet life close to nature: '. . . que si l'on te reproche que tu ne parles pas le langage des villageois, et que toy ny ta trouppe ne sentez gueres les brebis ny les chevres: responds leur, ma bergere, . . . que vous n'avez toutes pris cette condition, que pour vivre plus doucement et sans contrainte."[20]

The nymphs of Galatée and travelers from all parts are invited to swell the ranks of this pastoral company. To these the landscape appeared attractive, for, "on one side could be seen the fertile mountains of Cousant, which sloping by terraces to the plain, displayed their brows enriched with vineyards, and higher up a great forest of timber seemed to be placed there by wise nature, to serve as hair crowning their summits; farther on, the plain extended to Montbrison, always following these delightful hills broadened out on the side of Surieu, Mont-Rond and Feurs with so many streams and lakes that the view thus diversified was very pleasant."[21]

This country left such ineffaceable traces on the imagination and memory of d'Urfé that it was described with the tender emotion of a man who had left in this now forgotten spot the tenderest memories of his life. It offers a suitable setting for the various emotions of the heroes and heroines so deftly drawn in by him; in itself, it is not as important as the sympathy and compassion of the shepherds, but yet it adds a touch of beauty and harmony to their sentiments or gives rise to them.

Joy and freedom from care are presented in the charming idyll of the cherry tree, a picture which shows the author at his best. The gay troop of shepherds and visitors, in order to listen to the romantic story of Parthenope, Florice and Dorinde, sought a cool spot in the shade of some trees around a near-by fountain; its refreshing verdure together with the soft murmur of the water flowing over the pebbles, invited the company to pause. . . . They first plunged their hands into the cooling fountain; some drank a goodly draft, then choosing the most comfortable places, they seated themselves around this picturesque spring, except Sylvandre, who, mounting a large cherry

[20] *Astrée*, I, Preface.
[21] *Astrée*, III, 6, p. 475.

tree which formed part of the shade, threw down among the guests branches charged with fruit; then, choosing the best he brought them to Diane who gave them to Paris and the other shepherds, not without selecting one which she bestowed on Sylvandre.[22]

Meditation and reverie are exemplified in the episode of the night watch of Sylvandre in solitude. In doubt as to the reality of the affection of Diane for him, he determines to pass a vigil with his thoughts in a sequestered forest, and spends in this place a part of the night as was his custom. In entertaining his new thoughts, he often would withdraw from all society, and would not notice where he was until the rising sun would surprise him in his reveries.[23] In many instances d'Urfé has a true romantic melancholy in these slight touches. Thus, he tells us that when Diane with her thoughts as her sole companions wandered to the spot where Celadon was drowned, she sighed: "So all things hasten into the bosom of oblivion: . . . Oh, how truly that one spoke who said that we never pass the same river a second time, for not only is the water different from that which I first saw when I came here, but alas, I myself am not the same Diane that I was when I arrived on this spot: Time by its irresistible power pushes and drives all before it. . . ."[24] And Laonice also, retiring from the party into the thickest depths of the forest to complain in full liberty, brings her surroundings into relation with her thoughts.[25]

Rest from the bustle of life is secured by intimacy with this nature so loved by him. Here may be detected an echo of his age, when the nobles disappointed in their pursuit of military glory, tired of the horrors of the wars of religion and of the intrigues of the Court, sought relief in the repose of country life on their estates.[26] Nature is pointed out as the great consoler, in which the evils of the time are softened or forgotten in the quiet contemplation of its beauties. A good genius invites Alcippe (Pierre d'Urfé) to give up wars and politics and retire to his home in the Forez where he will enjoy the happiness

[22] *Astrée*, II, 3, p. 156.
[23] *Astrée*, II, 2, p. 94.
[24] *Astrée*, IV, 1, p. 68 f.
[25] *Astrée*, I, 7, p. 400.
[26] Nothing, says the satire Menippée, can prevent us from longing and begging for peace. "Allons, allons donc, mes amis tout d'une voix lui demander la paix: il n'y a paix si inique qui ne vaille mieux qu'une très juste guerre." See J. Demogeot, *Textes classiques de la Littérature Française*, I, p. 75.

of country life: "See here, Alcippe, what are your plans for the future? Do you not wish to live happily as long as Clotho spins the thread of your days? If so where do you expect to find this happiness except in repose? How can this be found unless in cessation of worldly occupations? for, behind these distractions lurks ambition for prominence at Court, which is only satisfied in plurality of offices. Have you not already had experience of the pitfalls to which these lead? At least consider this: there is the ambition of commanding several, each one of whom has the same desire as you. These desires suggest the same means of fulfilment. Traveling by the same road will they not reach the same condition as yourself, and arriving there, since ambition occupies such a narrow space that it can accommodate only one in the same position, will it not come to pass that you will have to defend yourself against the attacks of the many who fight against you or else cede to them? If you are engaged in defending your position what rest can you expect since you have to guard against friends and enemies whose swords are unceasingly sharpened against you? If you are obliged to cede to them, can you imagine anything more miserable than a courtier fallen from favor? Therefore, consider, Alcippe, that your ancestors were wiser than you in despising these things. Return to the place of your birth and resume your former habiliments. Exchange your lance for a shepherd staff and employ your sword to open up the treasures of mother earth instead of the limbs of your fellow men. There in your home you will find more happiness than elsewhere."[27] This great gospel of the happiness of a life in contact with nature's God is further advocated in the charming dialogue between Florice and Circeine, in which the attractions of city life and those of the country are placed in opposition. Florice says: "I admit that the company of Astrée, Diane, and Phylis is very agreeable and sweet, and that here there are sufficient attractions to please by their simplicity; but you will confess also, that what we see here is more suitable to minds nourished on commoner things and not to us who have been accustomed to everything noble and refined. And to tell the truth, I believe that this life would become in time insupportable to me and

[27] *Astrée*, I, 2, pp. 109 ff.

if I had to live here, would break both the shepherd staff and the scrip." Circeine replied, "I cannot see what you find so disagreeable in this, for it seems to me that we have nothing in the city to equal the freedom and liberty of these villages." "But, after all," said Florice, "one sees nothing here but sheep, goats, shepherds and shepherdesses." "But do you not take into account," answered Circeine, "the kind of shepherds and shepherdesses. Among the multitudes in our city can you find a mind like that of Sylvandre, or the equal of Astrée, Diane, or Phylis in beauty, discretion, or goodness? I do not speak of the others whose civility and sweetness of conversation I admire so much . . ."[28] This advice is the more remarkable from the fact that the passage just quoted was written after d'Urfé had spent a long period at Court, had tasted the intoxication of success, and had become familiar with the life of Paris. For such a soul as his this life was too artificial to satisfy his innate spontaneity and love for freedom.

The country about the Lignon is graceful, therefore, rather than grand; its aesthetical value lies always at the basis of its attractiveness for Honoré, but yet, beauty and attractiveness, admiration, love and enjoyment are intermingled as they are in real life.

To beautiful landscape our author has added the fascination of winding and shady paths in forest and garden,[29] the murmur of winds in the trees, more gentle in the hazel copses[30] and in the alder bushes along the river,[31] more majestic through the crown of high timber on the far-off summits of the mountain.[32]

There is continual music, also, in the "Pays de l'Astrée." Birds make constant harmony in the groves, a shepherd or shepherdess sings for the enjoyment of the others, and the echoes of their song resound from hill to hill.[33] Our author speaks of the numerous fountains and lakes which add fresh beauty to the

[28] *Astrée*, IV, 1, pp. 89 f.
[29] *Astrée*, II, 5, p. 221: *Ibid.* III, 5, p. 473, etc.
[30] *Astrée*, I, 11, p. 651; note also delicate touches like the following:

"Doux Zephir, que je vois errer folastrement
Entre les crins aigus de ces plantes hautaines,
Et qui pillant des fleurs les plus douces haleines,
Avec ce beau larcin vas tout l'air parfumant."

Astrée, II, 3, p. 141.

[31] *Astrée*, I, 11, pp. 652.
[32] *Astrée*, III, 6, p. 474.
[33] *Astrée*, *passim*.

prospect.[34] These fountains, apart from their natural function in embellishing the tableaux, are the cause of the verdure of the country, for the waters of the Lignon are led by small canals (biais) to irrigate the soil.[35]

Rivers and fountains are often personified; his Address to the Lignon is one of the choice passages of the story: "Belle et agreable Riviere de Lignon, sur les bords de laquelle j'ay passe si heureusement mon enfance, et la plus tendre partie de ma premiere jeunesse, quelque payment que ma plume ayt pû te faire, j'advoue que je te suis encore grandement redevable, pour tant de contentemens que j'ay reçeus le long de ton rivage, à l'ombre de tes arbres feuillus, et à la fraicheur de tes belles eaux, quand l'innocence de mon âge me laissoit jouir de moy mesme, et me permettoit de gouster en repos les bon-heurs et les felicitez que le ciel d'une main liberale respandoit sur ce bien-heureux pais, que tu arroses de tes claires et vives ondes: mais il faut que tu croyes pour ma satisfaction, que s'il me restoit encore quelque chose avec laquelle je te peusse mieux tesmoigner le ressentiment que j'ay des faveurs que tu m'as faites, je serois aussi prompt à te la presenter, que de bon coeur j'en ay reçeu les obligations et les contentemens: Et pour preuve de ce que je dis, ne pouvant te payer d'une monnoye de plus haut prix, que de la mesme que tu m'as donnée, je te vouë et te consacre, ô mon cher Lignon, toutes les douces pensées, tous les amoureux soupirs, et tous les desirs plus ardens, qui durant une saison si heureuse ont nourry mon ame de si doux entretiens, qu'a jamais le souvenir en vivra dans mon coeur . . . Et si la memoire de ces choses passées t'est . . . agreable . . . je m'asseure . . . que tu les conserveras curieusement dans tes demeures sacrées vivra dans mon coeur . . . Et si la memoire de ces choses pour les enseigner à tes gentilles Naiades, qui peut-estre prendront plaisir de les raconter quelquefois, la moitié du corps hors de tes fraiches ondes, aux belles Dryades, et Napées, qui le soir se plaisent à dancer au clair de la lune parmy les prez, qui émaillent ton rivage d'un perpetuel Printemps de fleurs: Et quand Diane

[34] *Astrée*, III, 6, pp. 476; IV, 6, pp. 506 ff.
In the *Sireine* of d'Urfé, Diane and Sireine meet near the fountain of Aliziers which is described with the grace of a Ronsard:

Pres d'un rivage verdoyant
En courbes replis ondoyant,
Sous l'ombre d'un penchant bocage
Esmaillé d'un printemps de fleurs,
Où l'Esté noirci de chaleurs
Jamais n'outreperçoit l'ombrage.
Sireine, Départ, III.

[35] *Astrée*, IV, 6, p. 506.

mesme, avec le chaste choeur de ses Nymphes viendroit apres une penible chasse despouiller ses sueurs dans ton sein, ne fay point de difficulté de les reconter devant elles; et sois assuré, ô mon cher Lignon; qu'elles n'y trouveront une seule pensée qui puisse offenser leurs chastes et pudiques oreilles."[36]

The spirit of the Sorgues River addresses his naiades in praise of their peaceful life and pays a glowing tribute to the great master of Honoré d'Urfé, Petrarch: "Car nostre vie est douce et reposée: nul ne vient interrompre nostre sommeil, ny nos agreables passe-temps: nos rives ne sont jamais ensanglantées d'homicides, jamais nos eaux ne sont troublées par les cheutes ny precipices des salles torrents: et jamais nous ne les voyons empunaises par la puante poix dont reluisent les vaisseaux. Mais ce qui nous doit le plus contenter, voire ce qui nous doit rendre glorieux par dessus tous les plus grands fleuves de l'europe; c'est, ô mes divines soeurs! l'infaillible promesse que nous avons du destin, et que depuis peu encores il m'a reconfirmée avec ces paroles: Heureux Demon de Sorgues, escoute, me dit-il, ce que je te promets; vingt et neuf siecles Gaulois ne seront point plustost escoulez, que sur tes rives viendra le Cigne Florentin (Petrarch) qui sous l'ombre d'un laurier chantera si doucement, que ravissant les hommes et les Dieux, il rendra à jamais ton nom celebre par tout le monde, et te fera surpasser en honneur tous les fleuves, qui comme toy se dégorgent dans la mer."[37]

D'Urfé speaks of the natural beauty of the flowers which heighten the charm of the river bank.[38] Very often he singles out a detail like the old oak whose powerful trunk separates into three equal branches and towers above the other trees of the grove.[39] Here nature has a symbolic significance by means of which he ingeniously explains the mystery of the Trinity.

The celestial bodies lend brilliancy or soft lustre to these scenes. Speaking of the sun he says: God, wishing to place before our eyes something so perfect that it would be a constant reminder of Him, in order that recognizing Him in His works we might love and serve Him, and as there is nothing as good

[36] *Astrée*, III (L'Autheur à la Riviere de Lignon).
[37] *Astrée*, III, 3, pp. 220 f. Parallel to this is a description of the Allier found in the *Sireine* (Depart, V, VI, VIII, IX, X).
[38] *Astrée*, III, 4, p. 314; IV, 6, p. 506, etc.
[39] *Astrée*, II, 5, p. 223; II, 11, p. 546; II, 8, pp. 416 ff; III, 5, p. 374, etc..

or as beautiful as the great Being Himself, He created from the bosom of Nature what He judged to be most pure and perfect and called it the sun. This sun gives life and movement to everything on the earth and accomplishes such marvels that many deceived by its perfections have mistaken it for God Himself.[40] The moon ". . . éclaire plus belle que je ne l'avais jamais veuë"[41] and this orb seemed to shine with added light for Sylvandre in his wanderings through the forest: "Le lieu solitaire, le silence, et l'agreable lumiere de cette nuict . . . il perdit en partie la clarté de la lune, qui estoit empechée par les branches, et par les feuilles des arbres. . . ."[42] D'Urfé also mentions the principal constellations and the magnitude of their component stars; the fainter ones, he says, cannot be seen because of the brightness of the larger ones: Voilà la grande Ourse: voyez comme le judicieux ouvrier, encor qu'elle ait vingt-sept estoilles, toutesfois n'en represente clairement que douze. . . . Voilà le Dragon . . . Voicy la couronne d'Ariadne . . ."[43]

From these examples an epitome of his views on beauty in Nature can be had. It is tranquil, generally picturesque, without bold relief or striking colors, less admired in itself than for its connection with the sentiments of man, and for the peace of soul to which it is conducive. It is evident that d'Urfé grasps the silent mystery of creation. Nature sees, hears, speaks, sings, writes verses, gives hospitality, protects his friends.[44] He knows all its peculiarities and characteristics, and treats them all with sympathetic insight. In the light of what he thinks of the ultimate beauty of nature, we feel that he not only enjoys and admires the powers of Nature, but acknowledges that the Creator has given to His creatures all the perfections they possess; and instead of asserting that the seventeenth century did not love nature it would be more just to observe, after a study of the attitude of Honoré d'Urfé towards this question in the *Astrée,* that nature was understood by him and others in a different fashion than by the Romantic school. Our author was impregnated with a feeling for it very close to that

[40] *Astrée,* III, 10, pp. 907 ff.
[41] *Astrée,* IV, 3, p. 220.
[42] *Astrée,* II, 2, p. 94.
[43] *Astrée,* I, 11, p. 654.
[44] *Astrée,* passim.

which Rousseau felt, painting with alluring touches of realism a smiling mood of nature, giving a definite geographical location to a happy Arcadia where flowers always bloom, where dwell beautiful youths and flower-crowned maidens.

Indeed it may be claimed that here in the *Astrée* the possibility of the Utopia of More, of the Arcadia of Sidney, or even of Plato's Republic are charmingly realized in the freedom and gracious hospitality of the ideal shepherds of the Lignon.

Chapter VI.

THEORIES OF ART IN THE ASTRÉE.

Honoré d'Urfé not only places before his readers a rather complete system of aesthetics, but also gives a well defined artistic creed to those who are willing to search for it. In the *Astrée* he touches on and discusses a variety of arts, showing his familiarity with many of them in a marked degree. He is philosopher enough to see that the general underlying principles of any one may serve as guide for the others, recognizing, of course, the limitation of scope or material in each. He correctly puts beauty at the basis of all art although he does not consider these terms co-extensive.

In speaking of the General Theory of Beauty, we have seen that no matter how gifted a man may be in the field of aesthetics, a point is reached where he is no longer able to reduce things to unity; the universe, or large sections of it, is too vast for his limited grasp, for, most of the aesthetic perception comes through the eye and the ear, which are naturally circumscribed in their reach and powers of observation. Besides, in a section of the earth's surface, for instance, in a landscape, apart from what is actually perceived by the senses, there are innumerable other details which do not belong to its formal aspect; some of these should, in fact, be eliminated, such as dead branches of trees, unsightly spots caused by decay, aridity, or the cupidity of man.

For this reason the Creator has endowed certain of his rational creatures with the gift of seeing the beauty in the universe, or even of creating it from existing elements by means of new combinations. To them He gives a ray of light which we call inspiration, enabling them to perceive beauty somewhat as He perceives it Himself, with the mission to interpret it to less favored mortals in a way better adapted to their limited powers of apprehension. At His invitation, they take certain phases of the universe and by new arrangements place before our eyes a harmonious composition which they judge particularly well calculated to give us a sense of beauty and raise us in silent

admiration to God, the author of it all. The rational creature so privileged is the Artist and his work is Art.[1]

This kinship of the arts is strikingly illustrated by Honoré d'Urfé between literature and painting, some of the episodes being entirely told through the medium of pastoral pictures representing the high points of interest.[2]

He regards poetry as by far the more intimate as it is the more spiritual and elastic gift. It is the art in which he appears to be most at ease and which he uses most frequently. When he wishes to emphasize certain truths, or to indulge in flights of the imagination, poetry is ever at his disposal. His art as a poet will, therefore, receive attention in a special section of the present work.

The function of painting, consists for him in an attempt to personify and make more concrete his literary abstractions. But he seems to regard sculpture as almost entirely historical; while architecture represents the materialization of the beliefs, hopes, and aspirations of his characters, and is therefore, considered by him from a metaphysical standpoint.

From his aesthetic principles, we can conclude that Honoré d'Urfé was more than a mere dilletante. He treated the subject of the fine arts seriously, devoting several pages of the *Astrée,* not alone to describing artistic objects with conscientious detail, but to examining with minute care the principles underlying their construction. Besides his interest in the subject for its cultural value, which he conveyed indirectly to his readers, his training and the environment in which he passed his youth will give a satisfactory answer to any doubt as to his ability to judge the merits or demerits of the works so described.

Surrounded as he was from his earliest years with the most exquisite objects of Renaissance art, his taste was that of a connoisseur; and when we remember that his early training was supplemented by a sojourn in Italy, by long residence in Paris where his official duties brought him frequently to Fontainebleau, it will be readily seen that he had unique opportunities for perfecting and refining his artistic judgment.[3] Art as conceived

[1] This theory is implied in the long discussion between Sylvandre and Hylas, *Astrée,* IV, 2, pp. 143-146.

[2] *Astrée,* I, 2, pp. 79 f.; *Idem,* I, 11, pp. 647 ff., where the story of Damon and Fortune is told by means of pictures which the author describes; and II, 5, pp. 226 f. in which painting plays also a prominent part.

[3] Cf. Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé,* p. 258; see above p. 14 ff.

by him is capable of conjuring up vivid representations of the subjects he describes. In addition, he requires the observance on the part of the artist of a "golden mean" in genius, imagination, and sentiment, which were to be subordinate to reason. His was the classical ideal of harmony, proportion and balance, so that his taste coincides with the general tendency of French mentality, viz., a preference for the concrete and realistic to the abstract or imaginative. His art criticism may be considered as formative and directive, for, he not only shows the tendency art would take (pastoral), but also, in many instances supplies charming subjects for the brush of the artist. He is one of the first novelists to paint ideal rather than real sensual passion and in that respect he helped in giving direction to the art of the next two centuries.

According to him, two processes are necessary in the production of a work of art; viz., in the first place, an imitation (not a servile reproduction) of the phenomena of nature especially of such as reach the mind by sight and hearing;[4] in the second place, art must express an ideal, based on reality or symbolism, that is it must have a soul. As to the first requirement, the keynote for d'Urfé is realistic imitation amounting almost to an illusion. He often draws attention to this point, exclaiming on introducing a picture that it was: . . . "Si bien representé, que le berger ne le pouvait discerner pour contrefait."[5] In common with his contemporaries, he may have somewhat exaggerated this position; but nature must be the point of departure of all successful work, for only here does the artist find the elements on which to build. A slavish reproduction which does not attempt to rise to the ideal is evidently not the kind understood by d'Urfé but he is greatly concerned with technical ability, fundamental to all true artistic work and a *conditio sine qua non* for Renaissance artists in particular. Therefore in the descriptions in the *Astrée* all mediocre work is excluded from consideration.

This skill on the part of the artist is acquired, according to d'Urfé, by careful observation of nature. He frequently makes use of exclamations when calling attention to this . . . "Voicy le lever du soleil . . . prenez garde à la longueur

[4] *Astrée*, II, 1, pp. 12 f.; II, 2, p. 98.
[5] *Astrée*, I, 2, p. 78.

de ses ombres," etc., or, "Mais quelle a esté la dilligence du peintre! . . . il n'a pas mesme oublié les cloux qui vont serpentant à l'entour de la hante . . . Haussez un peu les yeux. . . . Jettez l'oeil de l'autre costé du rivage,"[6] and he naively praises the artist for this exact imitation of nature: "Mais quelle a esté la dilligence du peintre! Je croy que la Nature ne sçauroit rien representer de plus naïf."[7]

As a writer remarks of d'Urfé, "Avec une rare compétence et sans prétention aucune, il engage la critique dans la voie que suivra un demi-siècle plus tard l'Académie des Beaux-Arts, quand elle proclamera les maximes essentieles qui serviront de préceptes aux écoliers et qu'elle exposera les raisons qu'elle a eues de se déterminer dans un sens ou dans un autre."[8]

This question of the imitation of nature, which has always been the subject of innumerable discussions, implies that of realism and idealism. The former is nothing more than an overemphasizing of this imitation of nature to the slighting of the spiritual element which should be its interpretation. On the other hand, excessive idealism in art leads to the neglect of form, which destroys art in its traditional concept. Thus, the question is finally resolved into one of quantity or extent. The truest art must always be that which unites perfect form (we speak of relative perfection, suited to the purpose) with the highest ideal perception. In this latter, lies the chief distinction between the artist and others. All reasonable beings have artistic perceptions or intuitions,[9] but it is the artist in the strict sense of the term, who has the special power of externalizing them in appropriate form, since he has a clearer perception of his ideal and the technical skill to embody them.[10]

Perfection of form, being a relative term, must be adapted to the idea which the artist wishes to place before us. In the words of Rodin we call ugly in the domain of fact whatever

[6] *Astrée*, I, 11, p. 659.
[7] *Astrée*, I, 11, p. 659.
[8] Germa, *L'Astrée d'Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 191.
[9] Cf. Benedetto Croce, *Aesthetic*, passim.
[10] Fr. Michel takes an original view of modern tendencies in respect to the neglect of form: "Some persons might object to the above by referring to different phases of art such as Futurist music, Cubist art, or Imagist poetry, which are frequently condemned for their lack of form, for an utter disregard or contempt of form on the part of the artists. But the latter do not ignore form, they cannot; they can only ignore the conventional rules of artistic form. If their form expresses just what is in their mind, it fulfills its office, and the question turns rather on the content that the form expresses, which may, as we have said before, appear incongruous to the general mind, or even incomprehensible. Form is as it were a lens through which the intuition of the artist is visible." Virgil G. Michel, *The Critical Principles of Orestes A. Brownson*, p. 52.

is deformed, whatever is unhealthy, whatever suggests the idea of disease, of debility or of suffering, whatever is contrary to regularity which is the sign and condition of health and strength. A hunchback is ugly, one who is bandy legged is ugly; poverty in rags is ugly. Ugly also are the soul and conduct of the immoral man, of the abnormal man who is harmful to society; ugly is the soul of the parricide, of the traitor, of the unscrupulously ambitious.[11] But because certain things are ugly in nature, it does not follow that they are ugly in art; this depends on the use which the artist wishes to make of them. A lesson may be better understood when carried through the medium of the ugly. There must be some shadows to bring out the high lights, and so perhaps there must be something repulsive to focus our attention on the central idea of the production.

It is interesting to see how d'Urfé treats this subject: "Or jettez l'oeil de l'autre costé du rivage, si vous ne craignez d'y voir le laid en sa perfection, . . . car entre ces ronces effroyables vous verrez la Magicienne Mandrague . . ."[12]

There is a striking similarity in the Vieille Haulmière of Rodin who took his idea from the poem of Villon, and who followed step by step in the description of the poet[13] and the picture of the witch Mandrague traced for us by the pen of Honoré d'Urfé; it shows the parallelism of their ideas on the subject of the use of the ugly in art: "Ceste vieille que vous voyez si ridée qu'il semble que chaque moment de sa vie ait mis un sillon en son visage, maigre, petite, toute chenuë, les cheveux à moitié tondus, toute accroupie, et selon son age plus propre pour le cercueil que pour la vie. . . ."[14]

Here ugliness is the shadow which brings into bolder relief the beauty of the other figures who represent virtue. Honoré d'Urfé by employment of the ugly, appeals to the emotions, so that according to him, ugliness or evil with its power to arouse

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[11] Rodin, *Art*, p. 42.

[12] *Astrée*, I, 11, p. 652.

[13] The courtezan who was formerly radiant with youth and grace has become, on account of her evil life, repulsive in her decrepitude. Rodin represents the figure as much ashamed of her ugliness as she was at one time proud of her charm:

Ha! vieillesse félonne et fière,
Pourquoi m'as si tôt abattue?
Qui me tient que je ne me fière (frappe)
Et qu'à ce coup je ne me tue!

. . . c'est l'antithèse de l'être spirituel qui réclame la joie sans fin, et du corps qui s'en va, se dissout, s'aneantit. La réalite dépérit et la chair agonise; mais le rêve et le désir sont immortels." Rodin, *Art*, p. 42 f.

[14] *Astrée*, I, 11, p. 653.

fear, grief, or hatred has a right in the field of art provided it be calculated to evoke the proper sentiment. Thus beauty in art is of so peculiar an essence that it may exist even in ugliness itself if the imitation is perfect. On the contrary, what is beautiful in nature may be decidedly ugly in art, that is, if it is out of place in the composition. A painting in which unity is lacking is ugly no matter how beautiful the component parts taken individually. What is ugly is that which offers no meaning: "Ugly in art is whatever is false, whatever is artificial, whatever seeks to be pretty rather than expressive, whatever is capricious and affected, whatever smiles without motive, bends or struts without cause, is mannered without reason; whatever is without soul and without truth; all that is only a parade of beauty and grace; in short, all that lacks truth, is ugliness in art."[15]

All is sufficiently beautiful, says d'Urfé, which makes us think of the source of all beauty, which raises us above the material and makes us seek beauty and harmony in the soul rather than in mere external appearances.[16]

The value of the study of antiquity for students of art is also recognized by Honoré d'Urfé;[17] to him as to most of his contemporaries this meant the study of Roman remains; until the time of Winckelmann,[18] any other sources of information were little known except when preserved through a Roman medium. D'Urfé's mythological subjects present an unusual sense of fitness and familiarity with the traditional mode of treating them[19]

While he insists on the results obtained by this "soigneuse industrie du peintre," namely perfection of technical skill, he invariably leads us to the consideration of the other essential, viz., the soul or meaning of art. Soul or ideal, and form, cannot be placed in antithesis; the whole artistic value is not found in the one nor in the other, but in the perfect agreement of the two, the complete fusion of soul or ideal with form. There is, so to speak, an interpenetration of ideal with form in all true

[15] Rodin, *Art*, p. 46.
[16] *Astrée*, I, 4, p. 199; *Ibid.* I, 7, p. 362.
[17] *Astrée*, I, 2, p. 79 ff; II, 10, p. 515 f.
[18] *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, first published about 1765. Winckelmann wrote reports on the Herculanean discoveries and is the first to have studied the monuments of antiquity with scientific method. His influence on aesthetic activity was considerable. Bosanquet, *History of Aesthetic*, pp. 192 ff.
[19] *Astrée*, I, 2, p. 79 ff.

art, similar to the scholastic idea of interpenetration of body and soul. This union of content and form must always remain the essence of true art. Exaggeration of the one at the expense of the other is a sign of decadence. Thus Cubism and Futurism are really impressionism run riot: "They are symptoms of a spiritual exhaustion amounting almost to a disease; their works express nothing, teach nothing, and lead nowhere."[20]

From many passages on the subject in the *Astrée* it may be seen that for d'Urfé, art is not simply an idea plus paint, but an ideal in paint or other medium. It is on this truth that he lays so much stress in his explanations. Sometimes the idea of the artist is so high, d'Urfé remarks, that he cannot externalize it in a satisfactory manner because of the imperfection of his materials, ". . . la matiere est de telle sorte inferieure qu'elle ne le peut faire que fort imparfaitement: il s'ensuit que cette representation n'est pas egalement parfaite en chacun. . . . Et il advient de là que tout ainsi que les couleurs, le pinceau, la toile estans mal propres, le Peintre n'en peut faire quelquefois que des portraits aussi fort grossiers, et fort peu ressemblans à ce qu'il veut representer . . ."[21]

Honoré d'Urfé implies, at least indirectly, a moral mission in art; some of his pictures convey, by means of allegory, a consistent history equally capable of a literal or of a spiritual interpretation. This may partly account for the failure of the *Astrée* to be classed as a work of consummate art, for in a genuine masterpiece the morality is inherent and does not obtrude itself in too didactic a manner. The idea or meaning may be directly implied by the composition or may be symbolical or allegorical. What really gives unity to the composition is this idea.

There is a passage particularly interesting in the *Astrée* because it is attributed to Celadon (Honoré himself). It is a description of the temple of Astrée, too long to be reproduced here, but into which Celadon has read a symbolical meaning. In this temple is to be seen a picture where two cupids holding in their hands two branches of palm and myrtle intertwined, are represented, each struggling to wrest them from the other; but the author notes that . . . "qu'encore qu'il les repre-

[20] Davis, *Art in Education and Life*, p. 79.
[21] *Astrée*, III, 5, p. 444.

sentast en une action qui fasoit paroistre que chacun vouloit vaincre, si est-ce qu'à leur visage on connoissoit bien qu'il n'y avoit point d'inimitié entr'eux, ayans meslé parmy leur combat je ne sçay quoy de doux et riant aux yeux et en la bouche de tous les deux."[22] The company of shepherds and shepherdesses would have failed to understand the painting if Sylvandre had not interpreted it. "These two cupids, amiable company, signify the lover and the loved one. The palm and myrtle intertwined denote the victory of love, the palm being especially the sign of victory, and the myrtle, of love. Therefore the lover and the beloved strive for the victory, that is to say, which shall be the more loving. These torches whose flames meet and mingle and which for that reason are very large, show that love reciprocated increases affection. The bows interlaced and bound together so that we could not bend one without the other teach us that all things are in common between friends, that the power of the one is that of the other, so that the one can do nothing except his companion contribute something of his own," . . . .[23]

In this series found in the temple of Astrée, d'Urfé very plainly conveys to his readers the ulterior value of art as a means to culture and ultimately to religion. He thus instructs his circle of readers and shows that art is one variety of human good and as such is necessary for the perfect rounding out of human life. He indicates that between beauty and virtue there is perfect harmony, and while corporal beauty is infinitely inferior to the beauty of God, yet the human form, being the highest expression of His power and Goodness is well worthy of representation by the brush of the painter or the chisel of the sculptor.

It is from this angle that d'Urfé introduces the subject of the nude in art. He does this from the standpoint of an idealist who in his descriptions assumes a noble dignified attitude, the result, perhaps of an enlightened education which directed him to see the work of the Creator in His masterpieces.[24] Hylas, the materialist, who does not go beyond appearances, is made

[22] *Astrée*, II, 5, p. 226.
[23] *Astrée*, II, 5, p. 227.
[24] The treatment of the nude by Michel Angelo is a good example of proper handling of the subject. No one can deny that his types are profoundly ethical though not in a distinctly Christian sense. The suggestion of evil is sometimes given by the surroundings and not so much by the production itself. Some nude tend to elevate, some semi-nude are much more dangerous. In the works of the famous Praxiteles for example, the compositions of Titian or of the modern Rodin, there is not a literal transcript from nature, for absolute realism is never beautiful

to remain outside the temple as unfit to grasp the deeper meaning of the work that is being explained to the other visitors. D'Urfé is true to his theories of aesthetics and his pictures convey a real ethical message to those who are capable of understanding it.

Of the more recent problems in the field of art to which we have referred incidentally, such as Impressionism or Futurism, Honoré d'Urfé of course was not aware. But from the fact that ideals are held before the spectator by all art and that ideals are the dominant transforming power in human life, it is clear that he is correct in his view that while art may not explicitly teach, it is nevertheless a very powerful force in the lives of the people; as we have seen, he successfully held before a society weary of the brutality of war and ashamed of a low plane of morality, the ideals of a higher life of the spirit which is the avowed purpose of the *Astrée*.

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and the simple nude partakes of this character, but the human form is refined and represents an idealized type where the artist puts into concrete shape an abstract type of perfection. Many modern works, on the contrary, do not reveal any spiritual tendency, there is the inevitable nude, technically perfect, it may be, but in no way expressing an idealized human form, and, because the artist perverts his high prerogative in degrading his calling, his work contains no soul and conveys no spiritual message.

Chapter VII.

Application of theories to various arts in the Astrée.

I. Landscape Gardening.

Landscape gardening partakes both of natural and artistic beauty. The outline and material are furnished by God, but on it man exercises his skill in bringing it into harmony with his own conceptions and appreciation of beauty; he removes what he considers blemishes and defects. Landscape gardening is the most universal and the oldest of the arts. Man's ideal home, according to Christian belief, was the garden in which he was placed before the Fall. In mythology, as well as in all popular conceptions of a future life, the garden plays a conspicuous part; likewise in these Arcadias in which men have striven to paint an ideal society it is always present.[1]

Dimly conscious of all this and of its appropriateness to a pastoral work, d'Urfé makes the garden a setting for most of the social life of the characters of the story and also for many of the religious rites of his Druids. For these he introduces frequently a background opening out to picturesque vistas where glimpses of a sparkling fountain, or a mythological figure half hidden in the thick foliage may be discerned.[2]

Not until Louis XIV did landscape gardening become this inclusive and social art. The tradition of a mathematical exactness employed in the gardens of ancient Greece had been carried over more extensively into the Roman gardens, which, to judge from the description by Lucullus and Sallust, were much more elaborate. This regularity in arrangement had continued through the Middle Ages, and nowhere was it so evident as in the gardens of Feudal France, nor was it entirely absent from those of the Renaissance.[3] According to a plan generally accepted at the time and preserved to us by Du Cerceau,[4] this geometrical pro-

[1] It should be borne in mind, too, that the gardens of San Marco in which the antique sculptures were collected by Lorenzo dei Medici were the source of the inspiration of Raphael, Michel Angelo, and the artists of the Renaissance.

[2] *Astrée*, II, 5, pp. 222 f.; *Ibid.* II, 8, p. 408; *Ibid.* III, 3, pp. 375 f. etc.

[3] Samson, *Elements of Art Criticism*, pp. 715 ff.

[4] *French Chateaux and Gardens in the XVIth century* (Selected and described by W. H. Ward, London, 1909).

portion was a controlling feature in French gardens of the sixteenth century, and particularly in that of La Bastie. Anne d'Urfé, impressed by its beauty, remarks: "Ceste maison (La Bastie) sedant beaucoup à Boution, quant au batimant, la surpasse bien autant en beaulté de jardin, belles allées et promenoirs, estant acommodée comme à souait d'un beau bois d'haulte futaye aboutissant au jardin, d'une belle riviere qui est Lignon, de quantité de beaux et clairs ruisseauz, de belles et grandes prairies, et de force belles fontaines."[5] At La Bastie regular paths radiated from a central pavilion presided over by a tutelar god, Autumn. Flower beds laid out in formal pattern, the monotony of which were relieved by antique statues artistically disposed, were among the features.[6]

It was evidently with memories of La Bastie that Honoré describes minutely the garden in which Celadon (Alexis) passed so many happy hours: "D'abord elle entra dans ce grand jardin, duquel un petit bras de la riviere de Lignon va baignant les quatre costez, et ayant jette les yeux sur la fontaine qui paroist dans le milieu et considerant la Deesse Ceres qui s'esleve sur le haut de la voûte soustenuë sur de grandes colonnes, qui les unes rondes, et les autres carrées, font comme une couronne à l'entour du bassin qui reçoit cette belle source, etc. . . .[7]

His views on gardens are naturally allied with his sentiment for art. Following the prevailing ideas, he attempted to hold up as a model a garden with every blemish removed from Nature by the art of man. He displays a desire for contentment and aesthetic satisfaction from a perfect work. The gardens of the palace of Isoure, so charmingly described by him caught the imagination of polite society[8] and impressed Mme. George Sand whose gardens of Briantes are described exactly as those of Isoure; from the *Astrée* she borrows the names of the walks and the statues in the park-like gardens: "D'Alvin parcourut les jardins, créations comiques de son hôte, et dont il était certainement plus vain que de ses plus beaux faits d'armes. Il avait sur une médiocre étendue de terrain, prétendu réaliser les jardins d'Isoure, tels qu'ils sont décrits dans *l'Astrée;* ce lieu enchanté

[5] *Description du Forez,* in Bernard, *Les d'Urfé en Forez,* p. 449. Louis d'Urfé bishop of Limoges (1677-1695) was moved when young by religious zeal to mutilate the antique marble statues with which Claude ornamented the garden of La Bastie; see, Bernard, *Les d'Urfé,* pp. 78 f.

[6] Broutin, *Les Châteaux historiques du Forez,* II, p. 25.

[7] *Astrée,* III, 10, p. 950.

[8] Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé,* p. 278.

fut en fontaines et en parterres, fut en allées et en ombrages.' Le grand bois qui faisait un si gracieux dédale était représénté par un bouquet en labyrinthe où n'étaient oubliés ni le carré de coudriers, ni la fontaine de la vérité d'amour, ni la caverne de Damon et de Fortune, ni l'antre de la vieille Mandrague."[9] In his descriptions, the simplicity of Nature unadorned was absent; particular stress was laid on the illusion caused to the eye and nothing which the artifice of man could supply was omitted, so that in reading the account of the garden of Isoure, where Galatée entertained Celadon, we have a picture of the traditional French garden of the seventeenth century: "Il y avait près de la chambre un escalier desrobé, qui descendait en une gallerie basse par où avec un pontlevis on entroit dans le jardin agence de toutes les raretez, que le lieu pouvoit permettre fut en fontaines, et en parterres, fut en allées et en ombrages, n'y ayant rien esté oublie de tout de que l'artifice y pouvait adjouster. Au sortir de ce lieu on entroit dans un grand bois de diverses sortes d'arbres, dont un quarré estoit de coudriers, qui tous ensemble faisoient un si gracieux Dedale, qu'encore que les chemins par leurs divers detours se perdissent confusement l'un dans l'autre si ne laissoient-ils pour leurs ombrages d'estre fort agreables. Assez pres de là dans un autre quarré, estoit la fontaine de la verité d'Amour, source à la verité marveilleuse," etc.[10]

The "dedalous" or labyrinth referred to was in accordance with the Italianized taste of the day, as also the grotto which he mentions later in the decoration of which the peculiarly French style of the grotesque prevailed.[11]

It is also interesting to note that the description of the "Fontaine de la verité d'Amour" and the engravings of it which appear in the edition of the Astrée of 1632 and are reproduced in that of 1647, show a certain resemblance to the fountain in the upper garden of Gaillon, the residence of George of Amboise, Cardinal Archbishop of Rouen.[12]

Two parts may be distinguished in the gardens as described by

[9] *Les Beaux Messieurs de Bois-Doré*, p. 96. Sorel tells of some gentlemen who tried to lead the lives of shepherds in their park, they gave themselves the names of the characters of the *Astrée* and called the walks and groves after scenes in the romance; quoted by Lefranc, Revue des Cours et Conférences, 1905.

[10] *Astrée*, I, 2, p. 73 f.

[11] Cf. Soultrait and Thiollier, *La Bastie*, p. 15; and Broutin, *Les Châteaux historiques du Forez*, t. II, p. 26 f.

[12] See *French Chateaux and Gardens in the XVIth century*, by Jacques Androuet du Cerceau.

d'Urfé: the traditional French garden, and the park-like English garden which seems to be an extension added to the formal classical type. The difference between the two may be summed up in the expression: the French garden is a structure while the English one is a picture.[13] However, the English garden is not so dissimilar as appears at first sight. Both are the result of a refined taste and, at this time when the pastoral style was so much affected by society, the picturesque English style formed an ideal background for their idea of rusticity. The surroundings of the temple of Astrée are typical of this English garden. It is a charming sylvan retreat dedicated to the goddess Astrée: "Le lieu estoit spacieux de quinze ou seize pas en rond, et au milieu y avoit un grand chesne, sur lequel s'appuyoit la voûte, que faisoient les petits arbres, et mesme ses branches tirees contre bas en couvroient une partie . . . Au devant de l'entrée il y avoit un petit pré de la largeur de trente pas ou environ, qui estoit tout environné de bois de tous costez, de sorte qu'il ne pouvoit estre apperceu que l'on n'y fust. Une belle fontaine, qui prenoit sa source tout contre la porte du temple ou plustot cabinet, serpentoit par l'un des costez, et l'abbreuvoit si bien, que l'herbe fraiche et épaisse rendoit ce lieu tres agreable."[14]

There is scarcely a part of the book in which d'Urfé does not introduce an ideally beautiful scene as the background of the episodes which he relates. He speaks of the gardens of Montbrison where Amasis and her court were accustomed to withdraw "pour passer plus joyeusement" a happy day under the agreeable shade of the elm.[15] He alludes to the solitude and beauty of the gardens of Constantinople.[16] Those of Athénée at the confluence of the Rhone and the Arar (Lyons) were embellished by the kings with every kind of artifice, planted with trees, enriched with sumptuous fountains, and adorned with flowerbeds and walks, which, planned in an agreeable confusion, always presented some surprise to the eye of the spectator.[17] In others of these "delicious" gardens there were arbors of jasmin thick enough to exclude the clearest moonlight.[18]

Rousseau has received much credit for introducing a return

[13] Cf. Peyre, *Histoire générale des Beaux-Arts*, p. 662.
[14] *Astrée*, II, 5, p. 225 f.
[15] *Astrée*, I, 10, p. 547; cp. I, 3, p. 158; I, 6, 346, etc.
[16] *Astrée*, II, 12, p. 637.
[17] *Astrée*, IV, 9, p. 533.
[18] *Astrée*, I, 9, p. 533; I, 6, p. 350.

to nature in literature, but it was because he read the beautiful descriptions of the landscape of the country of the *Astrée,* as he himself acknowledges, that he determined to visit this section of France.[19] He is certainly indebted to the *Astrée* for his love of nature, and therefore to d'Urfé is due at least part of the credit for the movement which later culminated in the Romanticism of the nineteenth century.

[19] See *Confessions,* bk. IV.

Chapter VIII.

Application of Theories to Various Arts in the Astrée. (Continued)

II. Poetry and Music.

So much attention has been given by critics to the prose of Honoré d'Urfé in his popular romance that we shall not discuss the subject in the present work. It will be sufficient to recall that in its smooth flowing style, it was remarkable for the period. This feature of the *Astrée* was particularly admired, and served as a model for many of its contemporaries.[1] It can be justly claimed that d'Urfé performed the same service for French prose that Malherbe and his disciples did for the beauty and strict rules of poetry.[2]

The prose of the *Astrée* is, according to Lefranc, rhythmic and harmonious, being superior to that of Honoré's secretary, Baro, who wrote the conclusion of the story.[3] However, it contains in germ much of the preciosity of the later seventeenth century prose, a fault from which Molière, Boileau, and Fenelon are not entirely exempt.[4] Nevertheless, d'Urfé can create with his pen charming impressions of the landscape of the Forez, and his narrative and descriptive passages are not easily forgotten. In the "Apostrophe" to the river Lignon, a masterpiece of prose style,[5] he reaches the highest intensity of lyrical emotion. In many of these passages he surpasses Guez de Balzac and approaches Fenelon in beauty of figure and limpidity of style.[6]

Letter writing played a role in the *Astrée* almost as important as that of poetry. In the literature of the seventeenth century

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[1] Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 265.
The excellence of the prose in the *Astrée* was recognized in the early seventeenth century by Deimier, *Académie de l'art poetique*, who ranks d'Urfé with Cardinal du Perron, Cotton, Coëffeteau, du Vair, etc It is interesting to note also, that the French Academy in 1638, when preparing for the Dictionary, inscribed the name of Honoré d'Urfé with those of Amyot, Montaigne, Coëffeteau and others in the catalogue of the best books written in French; see, Pellisson, *Histoire de l'Académie françoise*, quoted by Reure, *l. c.*

[2] Cf. Junker, *Geschichte des französischen Literatur*, pp. 239 ff.

[3] *Revue des Cours et Conférences*, 29 juin 1905; also 27 avril 1905.

[4] Germa, *L'Astrée*, p. 210.

[5] *Astrée*, III, L'Autheur a la Riviere de Lignon; see above, p. 76.

[6] Cf. Junker, *Geschichte des französischen Literatur*, pp. 239 ff; *Brunetière, Hist. de la Litt. franç.*, p. 104, note 3.

the epistolary style began to assume a unique place and to submit to well defined rules and a carefully polished diction. This story was one of the first to present these "morceaux brillants où l'auteur déploie tout son art et qu'il met bien en vue."[7]

The poems of d'Urfé are all short pieces which in accordance with the prevailing fashion and in imitation of his favorite Montemayor, he inserted into his story as an integral part of it. They are so numerous that Boileau asserted them to be the fundamental part of the romance, and added that the episodes were written for the sole purpose of providing a suitable setting for the poetic effusions of his youth, ". . . voulant faire valoir un grand nombre de vers qu'il avait composés pour ses maîtresses, et resembler en un corps plusieurs aventures amoureuses qui lui étaient arrivées, s'avisa d'une invention très agréable . . . d'Urfé y fit arriver toutes ses aventures, parmi lesquelles il en mêla beaucoup d'autres et enchâssa les vers dont j'ai parlé, qui tout méchants qu'ils étaient, ne laissèrent pas d'être soufferts, et de passer à la faveur de l'art avec lequel il les mit en oeuvre. Car il soutint tout cela d'une narration également vive et fleurie."[8]

The poems are intended to supplement the sentiments conveyed in the stories and episodes giving to certain situations more originality or more poetic intensity.[9] The verses are often inserted in the narrative for no other purpose than to add to the pleasure of the reader. At the close of a rural festival when the shepherds are reposing from their dance, pseudo-Egyptians arrive on the scene inquiring:

> "S'en trouvera-t-il point quelqu'une
> Parmy vous qui vueille sçavoir
> Quelle doit estre sa fortune?
> Nous la luy ferons bien-tost voir.
> Mais nous voudrions avec vous
> La pouvoir rencontrer pour nous."
> (*Astrée*, III, 10, pp. 933 f.)

Very often the dependence of these little poems on the text is so intimate that their removal from their proper background

[7] Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 254
[8] *Les Héros de Roman;* and in *Art poetique*, chant 11, verse 117.
[9] Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 252; Lefranc, *Le Roman au XVIIe siècle*, Revue des Cours et Conferences, 1905.

is impossible without in some way destroying the sense.[10] The following verses:

"La belle, dont l'Amour me prive de repos,
Reposoit doucement sous l'ombre d'un bocage,
La voloient les Amours autour de son visage,
Qui naissoient de ses yeux, encore qu'ils fussent clos.
. . . . . ."

seem exaggerated when read out of the context, but are poetical and sincere when we realize that they express the spontaneous emotion of Sylvandre, the idealist, gazing on Diane. Honoré d'Urfé evidently attached some importance to his poetic work in the *Astrée,* for the poems are listed separately in the table of contents in each volume.

In the first four parts of the *Astrée,* which alone are the genuine work of d'Urfé, there are seventy-four sonnets, thirty-five *stances,* seven poems of the same nature as the *stances,* seven songs, three villanelles, seven dialogues and nineteen madrigals.

The sonnets with varied rimes are in verses of twelve, ten or eight syllables, those in alexandrines being the most numerous. Almost all of them are composed on the model of those of Petrarch; the subtle analysis of the passion of love, and the effect produced by it on the heart are in imitation of the master sonneteer. Petrarch was highly esteemed by Honoré d'Urfé, and the apotheosis of the singer of Laura in the *Astrée* is a triumph of the author's imaginative powers.[11] Some of the best examples of the poetic talent of d'Urfé are found here. Thus, in the *Sonnet de Tirinte:*

"Rochers, qui des saisons le pouvoir surmontez
Et des siècles plus longs ne sentez point l'outrage,
Qui pouvez avoir veu, durant un si long âge,
De Nature et de l'Art les plus rares beautez;

Glaçons, par tant d'Hyvers l'un sur l'autre adjoustez,
Sans que l'onde s'y puisse entrouvrir un passage
Et de qui la froideur jamais ne se soulage
Ny des Soleils plus longs ny des plus chauds Estez;

[10] This view is taken by Reure, who remarks apropos of *Oeuvres poetiques choisies* of Honoré d'Urfé, compiled by Michaut: "Il nous semble que ce recueil, composé presque tout entier de vers pris dans *l'Astrée,* et bien fait d'ailleurs, confirme notre opinion sur l'inconvenient qu'il y a à détacher du roman et à isoler les morceaux poétiques. Ainsi separés de la situation morale qui les explique, ils perdent à peu pres toute espèce de charme;" *Honoré d'Urfé,* p. 253, note 1.

[11] See passage quoted above, p. 77.

Sources, de qui les eaux s'escoulent vagabondes
Et par qui, sans jamais voir amoindrir leurs ondes,
Les fleuves les plus grands sont rendus glorieux.

Vistes vous oncq, Rochers, rien plus beau que ma Dame?
Glaçons, esgalez-vous vos froideurs à son ame?
Et vous, sources, vos eaux aux larmes de mes yeux?"
(IV, 3, p. 215).

he appeals to the enduring quality and the long experience of the rocks to bear out his opinion that Silvanire is the most beautiful lady in creation.

The *stances* with their quatrains, sixtains and octaves are also very varied, as are the other poems which by their nature, their sentiments and the manner in which they are developed, may be classified as such. They occur in strophes of four, six, eight and ten verses and are as rich in rime combinations as the *stances* proper. A serious effort may be observed here to diversify the rhythm and the structure of the strophes. This can be seen for example in the famous echo song:

"Fille de l'air, qui ne sauroit rien taire,
De ces rochers hostesse solitaire,
Où vont les cris que je vais esmouvant? Au vent.
Et quel crois-tu que ce cruel martyre,
Que plein d'Amour mon coeur va concevant,
Devienne en fin aux maux que je souspire? Pire.

Que feroit donc cet oeil qui me desarme,
Par sa douceur de toute sorte d'arme,
Et qui promet m'aymer infiniment? Il ment.
Mais s'il est vray qu'il mente, quel remede
Nous faudra-t-il pour sortir promptement
De cet abus, qui trompeur nous possede? Cede.

Comment? ceder un tel bien à quelque autre,
Qu'Amour ordonne en effet qu'il soit nostre,
Qui plus que moy voit-elle volontiers? Un tiers.
Un tiers? Echo, c'est un cruel langage:
Mais s'il est vray qu'elle ayme mieux un tiers,
Au lieu d'amour qu'auroit un grand courage? Rage.

Nymphe, qui sont dedans ces roches creuses,
Quel est le mal des peines amoureuses?
N'auray-je donc jamais allegement? Je ments.
Comment Echo, n'est ce point un blaspheme
De t'accuser et dire que tu mens?
Ce que j'entens, est-ce bien ta voix mesme? Ayme.

C'est bien ta voix, qui frappe mes oreilles:
Mais ce secret, Nymphe qui me conseilles,
L'as-tu, dis moy, de ma Diane ouy? Ouy.
Mais de l'aymer, helas! c'est peu de chose,
Si d'elle ayme, d'elle je ne jouy.
Pour un tel heur qu'est-ce qu'on me propose? Ose.

Le ciel noircy de tempeste et d'orage
Ne peut d'effroy m'abbatre le courage,
Mon coeur ne craint tous ces estonnements. Ne mens.
Je ne ments point, ny ne suis temeraire,
J'apprend d'Amour ces beaux enseignemens,
Faut-il rien plus pour un si grand mystere? Taire.

Je me tairay? plutost ma voix pressee
Souspirera ma mort que ma pensée,
Amant secret comme Amant valeureux. Heureux.
Heureux cent fois aymé de ceste belle:
Mais d'où sçais-tu que son coeur genereux
Sera vaincu, si je luy suis fidelle? D'elle.

(*Astrée,* II, 1, pp. 4 ff.)

The *songs* are in couplets of four, six, or eight verses. The dialogues are also very diversified, no set rule is followed in the number of lines assigned to each interlocutor. The charming *Dialogue* between Alcidon *and* Daphnide deserves notice:

"Alc. Vous verra-t'on jamais changer,
Puis que vous estes si legere?
Daph. Alcidon n'est pas mon Berger,
Ny Daphnide vostre Bergere:
Le destin qui commande à tous,
Ne vous fit pas naistre pour nous, etc."

(*Astrée,* III, 2, p. 75.)

In the three *villanelles* of Hylas there are reminiscences of the light-hearted gaiety of the older poets of France:

"J'aime à changer, c'est ma franchise,
Et mon humeur m'y va portant:
Mais quoy? si je suis inconstant,
Faut-il poutant qu'on me mesprise?
Tant s'en faut, qui m'arrestera,
Beaucoup plus d'honneur en aura."
(*Astrée*, I, 7, p. 370.)

The *madrigal* form in great favor in the seventeenth century is also found in the *Astrée*. These number nineteen and are as Germa remarks, of no great value.[12] The madrigal was originally a song written without musical accompaniment. The words were considered of comparatively slight importance, and the madrigal resembled instrumental polyphonic music which was in reality an outgrowth of it.

The poetic style of d'Urfé is at least curious, often caressing and musical, and always delicate and easy. The poems are faulty, however, in places, his verses sometimes sink to the art of producing pleasure merely by their skilful arrangement and their refined music of rhythm and diction. The author looked to the artistic form first so that the attention of the reader is drawn to the mechanical aspect of poetics rather than to the thoughts expressed. Thus the pieces are generally smooth, showing the logical fitting together of the parts with self-conscious machine-like precision, which lead to artificial expression. It is probable that if he had written less of this society verse, and confined himself to those in which he presents nature pervaded by a gentle melancholy, his reputation as a poet would be greater.

Malherbe's judgment on the value of these poems was quite as severe as that of Boileau: "Monsieur d'Urfé," writes Segrais, "did not write as good verse as prose, still he could not resist the inclination to do so, although Malherbe did all he could to turn him from it, representing to him that he had no talent for the art, and that a gentleman of his condition should avoid the blame of passing for a poor poet."[13] The chorus of criticism

[12] Germa, *L'Astrée*, p. 197.
[13] Segrais, *Mémoires et anecdotes*, éd. 1755, II, 108 (quoted by Germa, *L'Astrée* p. 197).

on the part of his contemporaries finds corroboration with some modern writers on the subject: "We willingly indorse the severe yet just sentence pronounced by Malherbe on the poetry of Honoré d'Urfé," writes Bonafous, "and we are of the opinion that the verses of our author merit to a greater degree even than those of Desportes, the insulting comparison which kindled the wrath of Regnier inspiring him to reply with an eloquent satire. In fact, d'Urfé, like all the poets of the school of Ronsard, confounds emphasis with grandeur and the artificial with the graceful and natural. His verses, sometimes harmonious, more frequently bristle with forced constructions and far-fetched expressions. An inopportune erudition, an affectation which always seeks to employ the most learned and least familiar word, in short, all the faults so justly condemned in the Pléiade force on our notice whatever there is of emptiness or false turgidity in this pedantic style."[14] Still, Bonafous does not hesitate to class the poetry of d'Urfé with most of his contemporaries and places him higher even than Duperron, Yveteaux, Meziriac, Coulomby and others who earned the title of "les plus beaux esprits du siècle"; but he judges him inferior as a poet to Regnier, Malherbe, Racan, and the authors of the satire *Menippée*.[15]

These judgments appear to have some foundation, for d'Urfé, lacking in poetical originality, imitated both ancient and contemporary writers. He borrowed from Heliodorous, Tatius, Eustathius and Longus as well as from the work of Montemayor, the *Aminta* of Tasso and the *Pastor Fido* of Guarini.[16] It is true, also, that the taste of Honoré runs too easily to the *precieux* in the tone of many poems as in the madrigal on the coldness of Amarillis:

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[14] *Etudes sur l'Astrée*, pp. 270 ff.

[15] Bonafous, *Etudes sur l'Astrée*, p. 270. Racan himself was greatly indebted to d'Urfé in his feeling for nature; see Tilley, *From Montaigne to Molière*, p. 108.

[16] Michaut, *Oeuvres poétiques choisies d'Honoré d'Urfé*, Introduction, p. 22. This author remarks, however, that this imitation was a conquest and not real plagiarism. A more serious fault is to have closely followed contemporary poets, using almost identical expressions; thus, if Desportes had not lately asked of Rosette:

Où sont tant de promesses saintes?
Tant de pleurs versés en partant?

it is probable that Celadon would not have asked of Astrée:

Où sont les sermens que nous fismes?
Où sont tant de pleurs espandus? etc.

It is also true that some resemblance may be discovered between Bertaut and d'Urfé, which indicates that he is too easily inclined to this fault. See, Michaut, *Oeuvres poétiques*, p. 23 ff.

Elle a le coeur de glace, et les yeux tous de flamme,
Et moy tout au rebours
Je gele par dehors, et je porte toujours
Le feu dedans mon ame.
Helas! c'est que l'Amour
A choisi pour sejour
Et mon coeur et les yeux de ma belle Bergere.
Dieu, changera t'il point quelques fois de dessein,
Et que je l'aye aux yeux, et qu'elle l'ait au sein?
(*Astrée*, I, 2, p. 95.)

At other times he loses sight of the main idea in his nice distinctions and fine shadings of sentiment. In order, however, to obtain a proper perspective on his faults it should be recalled that at no time in the literary history of France was the subject of poetry less understood than at the beginning of the seventeenth century, notwithstanding the fact that soon after this epoch the great poets flourished. But it must be conceded that these men were giants in their art, and were successful in their chosen field in spite of the obstacles placed in their path. The movement of spontaneous display of emotion so strong in the preceding century was seriously hampered in its development by too many poetic rules. It was not indeed until the nineteenth century that the "Romantics" perfected a system of poetics founded on the older school, and *La Légende des siècles* of Victor Hugo, which includes the whole science of the new poetry, became the gospel of modern French versification.[17] A true poem should spring freely from the heart of the poet and address itself to the most noble part of man, his soul. This condition was rarely fulfilled at the time in which d'Urfé wrote. He naturally endeavored to follow the prevailing taste to which Desportes in all his works, and Malherbe at the beginning of his career, and even at the height of his fame, make more than one concession.[18]

[17] See Junker, *Geschichte*, pp. 293 ff.; Théodore Banville, *Petit traité de Poésie française.*

[18] "The characteristics of Petrarchism were: Forced metaphor and similes running into each other, so that often the original subject of interest was quite lost to view; constant allegory, not of personified qualities as in the Middle Ages, but of hearts driven to and fro like barks in distress; overindulgence in mythological allusions, . . . laments of the unhappy lover and complaints about the cruel coquette who makes him suffer agony so long that he seems to take joy in his woe; . . ." The downfall of the Pléiade is seen in the writings of Philippe Desportes (1542-1606) known as the leader of what is called the second *volée* of the movement. With the decline of the Hellenism of Ronsard, Italianism became rampant and Desportes is its chief example." Wright, *A History of French Literature*, pp. 198 f.

Lefranc,[19] however, finds another explanation for Malherbe's censure of the poetic powers of d'Urfé. He considers the verses both in matter and form to be original and drawn from his own inspiration. The rhythmic prose affected by Honoré, and some of his descriptions, give sufficient evidence of his genuine poetic temperament. The opinion of Malherbe is unjust. It was repugnant to him that so excellent a prose writer should be his rival also in poetry. Therefore it is less friendship than jealousy which prompted the dictator of French verse to advise the author of the *Astrée* to forsake poetry. Hence it is a matter for congratulation that Honoré did not follow too literally the advice given him by Malherbe.

Honoré d'Urfé is often true to the better instincts of his Muse, and enters into the feelings of his characters in a new and personal way and through them reveals a glimpse of his own soul. In the artificial framework which he employs, he sometimes shows a surprising imagination and depth of feeling, and when he succeeds in disentangling himself from the weight of the erudition which too often restrains him he betrays a sincerity, simplicity, and naturalism reaching almost lyricism. Owing to these he is a precursor of modern lyric poetry in a truer sense than Malherbe or even J. B. Rousseau who sing of facts exterior to themselves, and is more in accord with André Chenier and the fore-runners of the early Romanticists.[20]

The author of the *Astrée* shows pleasing sentiments in his pictures of nature in his address to the Lignon:

"Belle onde de Lignon que j'enfle de mes pleurs,
Compagnes qui sçavez quelles sont mes douleurs,
Tesmoins de mes ennuis, O Forests solitaires,
Echo de qui la voix respond à mes accents.
Air rempli de souspirs, et de cris languissants,
Ayez part à mon heur comme à tant de miseres.

De tempestes tousjours le Mont de Marcilly,
Quoy qu'il soit eslevé n'a le dos assailly,
Tousjours impetueux Lignon ne se courrouce,
L'espoir de nos moissons ne nous deçoit tousjours,

[19] *Le Roman*, in Revue des Cours, 1905.
[20] Germa, *L'Astrée*, p. 199.

Par divers changemens s'entre-suivent nos jours,
Et d'un bransle divers, le temps mesme se pousse.

. . . . . .

Heureux, ah! trop heureux, tous mes ennuis passez,
Vous estes à ce coup trop bien recompensez,
Puis que je l'ay peu voir avant que je finisse:
Mais s'il ne te plaist pas de changer son desdain,
Je te supplie, Amour, fay moy mourir soudain,
De peur qu'en languissant mon heur ne s'amoindrisse.

En sa course, Lignon, reflotte moins de fois,
Nos champs iaunissent moins, Isoure a moins de bois,
Et moins de voix Echo, bien qu'elle soit son ame,
Moins d'eslans a cet air d'un grand vent agite,
Que mon coeur n'a d'Amour, ma nymphe de beaute,
Que mon amour de foy, que sa beauté de flame."
(*Astrée*, II, 10, pp. 500 f.)[21]

Many of the intercalated pieces are charming, space alone forbids their quotation, but the following deserve attention: *Song of Phylis and Hylas* (II, 3, 136); *Lake Leman* (II, 10, p. 514); *Sur un Adieu* (II, 12, p. 655); *Sur un Attente* (III, 1, p. 5); *Sonnet* (I, 2, p. 94). The *sonnet* addressed to the breeze by Clorian displays the poetic genius of d'Urfé at its best:

"Doux Zephir, que je vois errer folastrement
Entre les crins aigus de ces plantes hautaines,
Et qui pillant des fleurs les plus douces haleines,
Avec ce beau larcin vas tout l'air parfumant.

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[21] Like another Forezien, the poet Louis Mercier, the ordinary phenomena of nature do not fail to arouse this graceful muse of the Lignon to their metrical portrayal. For comparison between the two we shall quote a short poem by Mercier, whose delicacy and refinement of sentiment place him in the foremost ranks of the poets of to-day.

La Rivière.

Elle réfléchissait la grâce des coteaux;
Les parcs où l'ombre et l'eau sommeillent, les chateaux
Dont les tours ont encor des coiffures d'aïeules,
Les maisons des bergers couvertes en éteule,
Les fins clochers dont l'âme est éprise du soir
Laissaient fuir leur image au fil de son miroir;

. . . . . .

Elle cheminait lente et souple, entre ses berges;
Les arbres riverains l'aimaient; les vignes vierges,
Flottantes, dénouaient leurs pampres dans ses eaux,
Et si, pour s'abreuver, s'en venaient les taureaux
Dont les sabots entraient en criant dans le sable,
Ils beuglaient de langueur au retour vers l'étable."
(*Voix de la Terre et du Temps*, 7e édition, pp. 35 ff.)

Si jamais la pitie te donna mouvement,
Oublie en ma faveur icy tes douces peines,
Et t'en va dans le sein de ces heureuses plaines,
Où mon malheur retient tout mon contentement.

Va, mais porte avec toy les amoureuses plaintes,
Que parmy ces forests j'ay tristement empreintes,
Seul et dernier plaisir entre mes desplaisirs.
Là tu pourras trouver sur des levres jummelles
Des odeurs et des fleurs plus douces et plus belles:
Mais rapporte les moy pour nourrir mes desirs."
(*Astrée*, II, 3, p. 141.)

The favorite theme of these pieces is love and exterior nature which the author associates with his emotions. He calls on the river Lignon to undertake . . .

"une juste querelle.
Contre ce ravisseur apelle à ton secours
Ceux qui pour son départ repandent tous les jours
Les larmes que tu vois inonder ton rivage."
(I, 2).

The mountains with their icy summits symbolize the coldness of unreciprocated affection (II, 10). The zephyr carries a message to his shepherdess (II, 3). At the sight of the turtle-dove, he exclaims:

"Quand je vous voy languir, et trémousser des aisles,
Comme ravis de l'aise où vous estes tous deux
Mon Dieu, qu'à notre esgard je vous estime heureux
De jouir librement de vos Amours fidelles!"
(I, 2).

It would be doing an injustice to the author of the *Astrée* not to recognize that poetic language has undergone at his hands a flexibility by which his successors profited. To Malherbe we commonly attribute the honor of having perfected the strophe of eight, and of ten verses, "but why?" asks a writer, "forget his contemporary, d'Urfé who was one of the first to compose poetic periods of that length and who was besides a skilful and ingenious versifier?"[22]

[22] Germa, *L'Astrée*, pp. 196 ff.

The author of the *Astrée* was a lover of music and frequently refers to it in his romance. The very appropriate comparison between friendship and music indicates his attitude towards this art in general: "Do you wish me to tell you what friendship seems like to me? It is the music of several voices which when well harmonized gives forth very sweet melody, but which if one only is in discord not only displeases us, but causes us to forget all the pleasure which it had formerly given."[23] And he shows an intimate knowledge of its technic in these comparisons: "Tout ainsi que l'oreille qui a accoustumé d'oüir la musique, est capable d'y plier mesme la voix, la hausser, et baisser aux tons qui sont harmonieux, encor que d'ailleurs on ne sçache rien en ceste art."[24]

He takes for granted the ability of the different characters to perform on musical instruments. In the dialogue between Hylas and Sylvandre (III, 384), he mentions that it is sung to the accompaniment of the harp and pipes. Moreover all his feminine characters have musical voices. He also speaks of the sedative value of music. Thamire sends for a bard to sing to Calidon in the hope " . . . si quelqu'harmonie pourroit point prevaloir par dessus la melancolie qu'il cachoit en son ame." (II, 1, 35.)

Without exception, in the case of the Madrigals, and nearly always in the case of verses containing lyrical sentiments, the author announces that they are sung by the character whose emotions they represent. He seldom weds music to verse in the case of poems containing images, showing thereby his artistic sense, so that if we take this into consideration, the poetry of Honoré d'Urfé in his favorite romance may be divided into songs and poems in the accepted sense. For this reason he may be considered as one of the early song writers.

It was natural that the monodic school did not find favor with our author, for at this time the emotional content had been lost sight of, and formal accuracy was considered more important. His definition of music is in accordance with this idea: "La musique est une rencontre de diverses voix bien disposées."[25]

[23] *Astrée*, I, 4, p. 215.
[24] *Astrée*, I, 6, p. 329.
[25] *Astrée*, IV, 5, p. 399.

Chapter IX.

Application of Theories to Various Arts
(Continued)

III. Painting.

A. Subjects Treated.

The subjects in painting chosen by d'Urfé for detailed treatment are sharply divided according to mythological and pastoral motifs.

Celadon, held captive in the palace of Isoure by the nymph Galatée, when returning to consciousness in a chamber adorned with "enrichissures d'or, et des peintures esclattantes," is introduced to classical art which Honoré describes with a buoyancy distinctly evident of the Renaissance spirit and betraying reminiscences of the education he had received.

A frieze extending across the wall of this room unfolded in succession Saturn devouring his children;[1] the Corybantes hiding the infant Jupiter from the devouring teeth of his father; Jupiter himself in the noon-tide of his power, with the wound still visible, which he made in his side to save the baby Bacchus. Nearby was the special messenger of Jupiter, the eagle, on whose back was Ganymede "Vestu à la façon des habitans du mont Ida, grasset, potelet, blanc, les cheveux dorez et frisez, qui d'une main caressoit la teste de cet oisseau, et de l'autre taschoit de prendre le foudre de celle de Jupiter, qui du coude, et non point autrement repoussoit nonchalament son faible bras."[2]

[1] An unusual and gruesome figure for an introduction to the field of art criticism, but the symbolic meaning of the myth was probably the reason for his choice. Italy, the ancient land of Saturn, to which d'Urfé in common with all students of that time looked for inspiration, receives a tribute. Saturn was chosen to represent agriculture, referring to the pastoral quality of the story. The Saturn peculiar to Roman mythology, allegorically interpreted, stands for *Time* which destroys whatever it has brought into existence (see Gayley, *Classic Mythology*, pp. 358 and 411). Farther on in the story d'Urfé refers to Saturn as *Time* (*Astrée*, III, 3, p. 210), and in the description found above he adds: "Autour de luy on ne voyoit que des Sceptres en pieces, des Couronnes rompües, de grands edifices ruinez, et cela de telle sorte, qu'à peine restoit-il quelque legere ressemblance de ce que c'avoit esté" (*Astrée*, 1, 2, p. 80). He here refers to the disastrous effects of the Religious Wars, and the need for re-establishing ideals in a society disillusioned by its tragedies. (Montégut, *En Bourbonnais et en Forez*, pp. 260 ff. gives an ingenious explanation of the political bearing of the *Astrée*).

[2] *Astrée*, I, 2, pp. 80 ff.

D'Urfé, criticising this adds: the scene was so well represented that the artist caught the moment in which Ganymede while trying to reach the hand of his master had touched with his foot the vase holding the nectar, which seemed to waver before falling, and the boy had turned his head to see what would happen. By such touches of realism he avoids the fault of a stereotyped commonplace in the representation of the subject. He next points out the symbolical idea of the picture: At the feet of Jupiter were placed two casks; the one to the right containing the good; that to the left, the evil of the world; while all around were to be seen vows, prayers and sacrifices diversely figured.[3] Farther on, Venus was to be seen in her sea-shell looking at the wound she received in the Trojan war, and by her side Cupid caressing her.[4]

Elsewhere the goddess Astrée is represented in shepherd costume, and rightly so remarks d'Urfé, because the goddess of Justice could not be more suitably attired than in this guise, "soit pour monstrer que mesme dans les lieux plus retirez et plus champestres, les innocens et les plus faibles sont par elle maintenus en asseurance, soit pour faire entendre que par le moyen de la justice l'on voit la paix et l'abondance parmy les hommes, qui toutes deux ne se peuvent mieux representer que par les Bergeres et par les troupeaux."[5]

Prometheus chained to the rock in punishment for having stolen fire from the Olympians, is another favorite myth of our author who applies the story to the magnanimity of Sylvandre.[6]

These scenes are described in the vivid manner of a spectator and the frieze is almost Dantesque in its grim details and powerful realism. It is considered as an adjunct to the general architectural scheme of the palace. The themes are drawn chiefly from Homer, Hesiod, Ovid, Horace and Virgil.

In the pastoral subjects, next described, the author is more at ease. He is here dramatic and idealistic, the reader becomes a partaker in the unfolding of the action and is at the same time introduced into an unreal world. D'Urfé himself considers these *tableaux de genre* important, giving them an entire book of the first part of his story and frequently referring to them

[3] *Astrée*, I, 2, pp. 80 f.
[4] *Astrée*, I, 2, p. 80.
[5] *Astrée*, III, 5, p. 375.
[6] *Astrée*, III, 10, p. 901.

in the succeeding episodes. These pastoral pictures which relate the story of Damon and Fortune are found in the grotto of the gardens of Isoure.[7] In their composition and atmosphere they can be represented to the imagination as airy conceptions emanating from the brush of a Claude Gelée de Lorraine or limned in the delicate tints of a Watteau. After a general description of the grotto, its architecture and sculpture d'Urfé through Adamas describes these six pictures.

First Tableau, *Astrée*, I, 11, pp. 647 ff.

In the first tableau the center of interest is given to a shepherd leaning against an oak tree, limbs crossed, playing on a cornemuse, who receives the name of Damon on account of the perfection of his face. His sheep can be seen in the distance grazing along the banks of the river. D'Urfé states that besides being beautiful, his face reveals also a youth whose only care is to please himself, for there is no shadow of trouble on that countenance. The opposite is the case with the shepherdesses surrounding him, for although Damon does not deign to turn his eyes on them they are full of solicitude for him. In order to accentuate this, Cupid is painted in the air to the right of the picture.

Second Tableau, *Astrée*, I, 11, pp. 649 ff.

The second picture which depicts only sweetness is entirely different from the preceding one that exhibits pride. A beautiful shepherdess is reclining under a tree. Her hair flowing freely over her shoulders is curled by the wind, which, jealous of the Cupids hidden there, would fain chase away. In fact some are borne away by force, others have become entangled by the knots they have made, and those who try to return cannot do so, their feeble wings being opposed by the importunate zephyr. This is the charming shepherdess Fortune of whom Cupid wishes to make use in his promised vengeance on Damon who also may be seen nearby.

A study of the little Cupids who are busy around them shows how attentive each one is to his allotted task. On the other side Anteros can be seen encircling the neck and arms of Fortune and placing wreaths in the hands of Damon.

[7] It is remarkable how many characteristics of this grotto are taken from the grotto of La Bastie. Cf. *Astrée*, I, 11, pp. 644 ff. with the description in Soultrait-Thiollier, *La Bastie*, pp. 23 ff.

Third Tableau, *Astrée,* I, 11, pp. 651 ff.

In the third picture Honoré d'Urfé describes the river Lignon noting that it has a double source, one coming from the mountains of Cervières, the other from Chalmasel, the two uniting above the trading town of Boïng.[8] He comments on the excellence of the drawing in this landscape, the winding banks of the river, with the young alder trees forming a border, are painted very realistically. He draws the reader's attention to the forest and meadow where the shepherds often allowed their flocks to graze. It seemed to him that the large clump of trees to the left of the little furrow (biais) winding to the right, and the crescent made by the river farther on, were painted naturally by the artist.

In the background Damon's flock can be seen in the shade, while Damon himself has waded out into the water. D'Urfé calls attention to the trees which bend down to cover the shepherd from the rays of the sun, and which appear almost gay that it is their privilege to do so. Nevertheless the curiosity of the sun is so great that some of its rays find their way through the thick foliage.

On the other side of the river we may see the perfection of ugliness—the witch Mandrague—while in the clouds above Venus and her son hover over the scene.

Fourth Tableau, *Astrée,* I, 11, pp. 654 ff.

In this picture a night scene is very well represented. Through the shadowy background some mountains are faintly discernible, the stars are so well disposed that the different constellations can be recognized, and the clouds seem to obscure the sky completely in places while higher up they appear like a thin smoke. The witch Mandrague appears here also, surrounded by objects symbolic of her vocation.

Fifth Tableau, *Astrée,* I, 11, pp. 657 ff.

In the fifth tableau two actions are represented. The first

[8] The present town of Boën-sur-Lignon. The Lignon is formed of two principal branches above Boën. One has its source in the mountains above Chalmazel; the other begins southwest of Noirétable not far from a popular place of pilgrimage called "l'Hermitage." Cervières is a few miles distant from the place, but was much better known at that time as it was a fortress for the security of which even the kings of France showed the greatest concern. Reure says it was one of the most important fortresses in the kingdom (*Honoré d'Urfé,* pp. 47-49). Actually, the more northern branch starting at Noirétable is known as the Auzon and the other as the Lignon proper. In his description of Forez, Anne d'Urfé says the Lignon begins at Cervières. See document in Bernard, *Les D'Urfé en Forez.*

shows Damon on his way to the fountain to seek relief from the anxiety into which an unpleasant dream has cast him; the second, the deception practised on him by the witch as he gazes into the enchanted water. In the first scene Damon is dressed for the chase. Attention is called to the care with which his faithful dog studies his master. In the second action is represented the interior of a cave in the depths of which can be seen a dying man, Damon. His position is very natural, one leg is extended, the other drawn back as if from pain; one arm is caught behind him by the suddenness of the fall of the body, the other lies languidly along his side still loosely grasping a spear. The head is bent towards the right shoulder, the eyes are half closed and turned so as to resemble a man in the agony of death.

Sixth Tableau, *Astrée*, I, 11, pp. 659 ff.

This is dramatic and depicts four episodes in the history of the shepherdess Fortune. The first represents a dream sent her by Mandrague; in the next scene she is on her way to the fountain to be enlightened as to its meaning; in the third she complains of the inconstancy of her shepherd; and the last shows the conclusion of the tragedy.

The background of the picture shows the rising sun which gives a peculiar elongation to the shadows, as they approach the light, the clouds vanish. Birds appear and in soaring seem to sing and flutter their wings in the warmth of the sun. On the other side some owls try in their uncertain flight to hide themselves from the new born light. In another place Fortune is represented asleep, the sun's rays play around her, one arm is carelessly extended, her head is inclined; the other hand is also visible and her sleeve is accidently turned back so as to reveal the beauty of the arm. The spirits of Morpheus surround her and urge her to visit the fountain. In the next part she is represented as actually gazing into its depths. The sweet sadness of her face in this picture moves the spectators to participate in her feelings. Deceived by a false representation through the machinations of the witch and suspecting Damon of unfaithfulness she can be seen in the third part of the canvas in the depths of the cavern brooding over her sorrow. Thus unwittingly she comes to the spot where Damon

lies dying. She is seated against a rock in the attitude of anguish and despair. After a time there is mutual recognition. . . . "Ainsi ces fideles amans recogneurent l'infidelité de ceste fontaine, et plus asseurez qu'ils n'avoient jamais esté de leur affection, ils meurent embrassez: Damon de sa playe, et la Bergere du deplesir de sa mort . . ."

These pastoral themes described with so much ease and grace by Honoré d'Urfé indicate his originality and creative imagination. They are no mere translation of pictures he had seen somewhere but they are the true painter's vision in which we may recognize the naturalistic tendencies of this art.

B. Technical Aspects of Painting.

The importance of technical skill is regarded by d'Urfé as fundamental in all branches of art. He first briefly tells the story of the picture, then points out the technical excellencies displayed by the artist, for he excludes all mediocre work giving only the highest perfection to his readers, and lastly discovers the ideas the painter intended to express.

We shall point out the principal questions to which our author alludes explicitly in the *Astrée.*

Honoré d'Urfé betrays a remarkable knowledge of the anatomy of man and of animals. He knows every muscle of the body, and describes almost with the skill of a Rodin the important function which they play in revealing emotion. Thus, in relating the struggle between two Cupids which one picture represents he says: . . . "si ne laissoit-on de voir les muscles et les nerfs qui à cause de l'effort paroissoient élevez; non toutesfois en sorte que l'on ne reconneust bien que l'embonpoint empeschoit qu'ils ne parussent davantage. Ils avoient tous la jambe droite avancée, et les pieds qui touchoient presque l'un l'autre. Les bras estoient fort en avant, et au contraire les corps en arriere, comme s'ils avoient appris que plus un pois est éloigné, et plus il a de pesanteur; car chacun d'eux pour donner plus de peine à son compagnon, le tient de cette sorte afin que le poids mesme de leurs petits corps, favorisast d'autant la force mesme de leurs bras."[9]

This knowledge is also displayed in his description of the position of the dying Damon.[10]

[9] *Astrée,* II, 5, p. 226.
[10] See above, Fifth Tableau, *Astrée,* I, 11, p. 658 f.

A similar anatomical knowledge is displayed in the treatment of animals in art. He commends the artist for his skill in representing dogs so as to indicate that they are not asleep, but merely resting, "car ils sont couchez sur leurs quatre pieds, et ont le nez tout le long des jambes de devant, tenans tousjours les yeux ouverts aussi curieusement qu'un homme sçauroit faire."[11]

Associated with the knowledge of anatomy is the difficult art of representing foreshortening which also receives the special attention of the author of the *Astrée.* This is not only the diminution of size by the pencil or the brush but the careful imitation by the character of the lines employed in the drawing of the appearance presented to the eye when an object is placed obliquely to the line of vision. In the human figure, foreshortening is required in the limbs when a portion of a person seated, or of an arm resting on the table is to be represented obliquely at an angle with the other part of the same limb. D'Urfé remarks on the "raccourcissemens, soit aux ombrages, ou au proportions," and instances, "comme il semble que le bras du berger s'enfonce un peu dans l'enfleure de cet instrument, et comme la cane par où il souffle, sembla en haut avoir un peu perdu de sa teinture, . . ."[12]

He understood perspective and praises it when skilfully executed. By means of this "grand artifice de la peinture" he shows how the depth of the picture is thereby increased: "La perspective y est si bien observée, que vous diriez que cest autre accident qu'il veut representer de deçà est hors de ce Tableau et bien esloigné d'icy."[13] D'Urfe is evidently not familiar with aerial perspective which shows the effect of atmosphere upon objects lights or colors in nature or the blurring of the outline and modulation of shades so admired by modern "Impressionists."

The psychological play of emotion on the faces of the principal figures in these paintings and also in the portraits to which the author frequently calls attention[14] displays the French element entering into the Italian practice of portraiture then becoming prominent in the former country. "Prenez garde comme ce visage, outre qu'il est beau, represente bien naïfement

[11] *Astrée,* I, 11, p. 649.
[12] *Astrée,* I, 11, p. 648.
[13] *Astrée,* I, 11, p. 656.
[14] The portrait of Sylvian was so characteristic of the young girl that Childeric called it the sister of the original. See *Astrée,* IV, 12, p. 1143.

une personne qui n'a soucy que de se contenter . . ." and as he remarks elsewhere, "vous jugerez bien à la façon de leur visage qu'elles ne sont pas sans peine, car autant que Damon a l'esprit libre et reposé, autant ont ces Bergeres les coeurs passionnez pour luy, encor comme vous voyez, etc. . . ."[15]

In the delineation of the historical portraits scattered through the various parts of the story, there is some attempt to introduce local color, for the artist, anxious to reproduce not alone truth to character "au naturel" in the features, remarks that the individuals were "vetus comme ils soulaient être."[16] But like most of his contemporaries, this generally meant for him that these Druids and historical personages in the *Astrée* were clothed, acted and spoke as the aristocracy of France did in the early seventeenth century.

The problem of chiaroscuro, or light and shade independent of color, seems to have been of absorbing interest to d'Urfé judging by the frequency with which he refers to it in his descriptions of scenes where artificial light is employed. According to the principles of this art, a picture must have a center of illumination which generally coincides with the center of interest. In traveling away from this, the light gradually looses its brilliancy until it reaches the more distant figures whose remoteness is indicated by the diminishing luster. Some of the most detailed, and also, perhaps the most remarkable observations made by d'Urfé are on the subject of chiaroscuro: "Before passing on," he entreats his readers in one place, "study a little the art of this painting. See the effects of the candle of the witch on the obscurity of the night. The whole left side

[15] A comparison between Clouet's portrait of Henry II, where there is an excellent analysis of character, and the portrait of the same king by Titian, will bear this idea out. The French artist's conception of the subject is much more interesting from a human point of view, and due allowance being made, of course, for the superior technic of the great Venetian master, is more realistic.

[16] Following is an interesting description of a sacrificial procession in a Druid temple as imagined by d'Urfé: "Premierement marchoient dix joüeurs de trompes, qui sonnoient de temps en temps tous ensemble, apres lesquels venoient les Saliers couronnez de fleurs, qui avec des petites robbes violettes et retroussees, et des morions de fer alloient dansans et chantans devant et autour des victimes, et des hosties, portans aux mains de petites dagues, et des escus aux bras qu'ils nommoient anciles, frappans de ces armes qu'ils disoient Celestes les unes contre les autres à certaine cadence. Apres ceux-cy marchoient les porteurs de disques, qui estoient de grands bassins, figures à teste de taureaux despoüilles de leur chair, et ajancees de festons de diverses fleurs. Ceux-cy estoient suivis des porteurs de Pateres qui estoient de grands vases, où le sang des victimes estoit receu, et des jeunes Victimaires qui portoient sur leurs testes les pots avec des cercles, où se cuisoient les chairs qui n'estoient point consumees par le feu du sacrifice, ensemble avec les porteurs de grandes cueilleres faites d'airain. . . . Tous ces Victimaires la moitié du corps nüe, ne portans qu'un habit fort court de la ceinture en bas, et faits presque tous de peaux des bestes sacrifiées, ayant toutesfois chacun un chappeau de fleurs à la teste, ainsi que tous les autres qui aidoient en quelque sorte que ce fust à faire le sacrifice." *Astrée*, IV, 11, p. 1163 f.

of her face appears in a bright light, and the rest so much in shadow that it seems to belong to a different face. The inside of her half-opened mouth is clearly seen, as much of the opening as will permit the light to enter. The arm holding the candle is, you may observe, very obscure, because the book which she holds casts a shadow, and the remainder, the upper part, is so bright that it makes the shadow under the arm appear darker. At the same time remark the effect of the candle on the demons for according to the way they are grouped they are lighted up or obscured."[17]

There is also an interesting passage on the effect of sunlight worthy of a Claude de Lorraine . . . "Considerez comme ces jeunes arbres courbes le couvrent des rayons du Soleil, et semble presque estre joyeux qu'autre qu'eux ne le voye. Et toutesfois la curiosité du Soleil est si grande, qu'encores entre les diverses feuilles, il trouve passage à quelques uns de ses rayons. Prenez garde comme ceste ombre et ceste clarté y sont bien representécs."[18]

The art of composition or careful disposition of groups in a picture indispensable to a truly artistic work is conspicuous in all these pastoral subjects. The grouping produces the harmonious effect of a well balanced whole which the spectator carries in his memory, often forgetting the details. Some of these pastoral themes are true pictorial art, but d'Urfé apparently overexplains his subjects thus intruding the literary concept into a field to which it does not belong. Yet it should be remembered that in this as in other matters his aim is didactic.

This secret power of harmonious balance in the composition of a work of art appealed forcibly to the inherent sense of rhythm in our author. For Honoré d'Urfé almost invariably draws the attention of the spectator in the first place to the center of interest in these paintings and usually leaves in proper subordination the other secondary features. In the second Tableau, for instance, the principal figure—a shepherdess—is first pointed out and her position clearly defined, then the subordinate characters are placed so as to direct attention in some way to the central theme.[19]

When we take into account that he wrote these criticisms

[17] *Astrée*, I, 11, p. 655.
[18] *Astrée*, I, 11, p. 652.
[19] *Astrée*, I, 11, p. 649.

in the early seventeenth century, when theories of art were as yet hardly formulated, it will be seen what a remarkable achievement was his and we are surprised to find that so many points stressed by him are still mooted questions in the twentieth century. While his place in the history of art criticism cannot be as prominent as that of Diderot (*Salons*), yet there is much in common with him. Both show a taste for the pathetic even in landscapes, the work of art is made an occasion for the awakening of some suitable emotion. There is a similar praise bestowed on the artist for direct observation of nature, and also both critics give evidence of familiarity with technic.

While preference is given by d'Urfé to form and aesthetic grouping the idea of color is not entirely lacking, and far from having a vague concept of its value[20] he makes it one of the constituents of his definition of painting. In fact he says that the art is the representation by means of color of an idea conceived by the artist: "la peinture de laquelle le peintre prend son nom est une disposition de diverses couleurs, avec lesquelles quelque chose est representée,"[21] and further that it is by using a variety of colors that the artist will achieve success. He also indicates the use of contrasting shades in order "de rehausser et faire mieux paroistre la couleur de laquelle il s'est servy au commencement, ou pour tirer des traists plus delicats."[22]

Honoré always admires variety and harmonious coloring in a picture, for without this the artist "ne sçauroit parvenir à la fin de leur dessein."[23]

Nevertheless the only specific colors to which our author refers are gold,[24] silver,[25] scarlet,[26] azure[27] and violet.[28]

The art theories expressed by d'Urfé in his work are in general in accord with his philosophy. In these pictures life is idealized and is shown as he would have it rather than as it actually is. He tends more or less to a romantic view, yet never loses a sure hold on reality, so that not only does he

[20] Fischer, *The Literary Relations between La Fontaine and the Astrée of Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 81, says that Honoré d'Urfé did not give much attention to color, a statement to which we cannot agree without some modification.
[21] *Astrée*, IV, 5, p. 399.
[22] *Astrée*, IV, 5, p. 399.
[23] *Astrée*, IV, 5, p. 399.
[24] *Astrée*, I, 2, p. 81.
[25] *Ibid.*, I, 5.
[26] *Idem.*, I, 11, 659.
[27] *Ib.*, II, 11, 596.
[28] *Id.*, IV, 11, 1163.

see the objects he describes but also makes his readers see them. Moreover, he has the power, unusual in an art critic, of arousing in his readers the emotion which the artist intended his picture to convey. He has the correct judgment of the critic in matters regarding the external expression of the artist, and is interested in light, color and all the illusions of the art of painting that may satisfy the eye of the spectator. By making the arts an object of literature he opened the door for that *rapprochement* between art and literature which reached its fullest intimacy in the French romantic period of the nineteenth century.

Chapter X.

Application of Theories to Various Arts
(Continued)

IV. Architecture and Sculpture.

It may seem strange, with the chateau of La Bastie furnishing a source of inspiration, that Honoré d'Urfé has not given more attention to architecture in the *Astrée,* for he does not display here as great originality as in his criticisms on painting.

Descriptions of gorgeous palaces were traditional in all the older epics and novels and were held in particular esteem by the Greeks and Romans. The only long passage in d'Urfé's romance treating of this subject is an imitation of Montemayor's *Diana,* of which a parallel is given in the description of the palace of Isoure and its treasures.[1]

In his travels in Italy, our author admired many palaces "de marbre et les enrichissures qui surpassent l'imagination estonnant plustot ceux qui les regardent,"[2] but he does not enter into details, although he was desirous of profiting by the training received, hoping by its means, as he remarks, that "Astrée m'en aimeroit mieux."

The gallery of the home of Adamas, which he describes with exactitude, shows how, perhaps unconsciously, he weaves into his romance, memories of La Bastie and its riches: The gallery into which the good Adamas conducted Daphnide and Alcidon was very remarkable for the curiosities found there and because of the magnificence of the structure, for the marbles of the doors and windows rendered the building very beautiful and rich. The most exact proportion of height and width were perfectly observed, and, besides, panelling and gilding were not spared, the good Druid had enhanced the place with the rarest things produced not only by Europe but by Asia and Africa; and not alone of his time, but of all past centuries,

[1] *Astrée,* I, 1, 2.
[2] *Astrée,* II, 10, 516.

and of which the memory was not entirely lost. These surpassed in such a way the luxury of the building, that the first attracted the eyes by its beauty, and the other retained the minds on so many objects as even to overpower the imagination. . . .[3]

The grotto of La Bastie finds many echoes in d'Urfé's romance, he lingers over its details in several parts of the story: Then entering the cave, the shepherd remained in rapt attention of the work. The entrance was high and spacious. At the two sides, instead of pillars were Termini which supported the ends of the vaulted portal. One typified Pan, the other, Syringue. They were carefully covered with little stones of various colors. The hair, eyebrows, moustache, beard, and the two horns of Pan were of sea shells so well arranged that the cement was not visible, etc.[4]

It is a curious fact that Honoré d'Urfé's devotion to sculpture is less marked than to painting. This has possibly a deeper significance than appears at first view, for d'Urfé was a man of his time, losing sight of sculpture in the newly awakened interest aroused in painting. Tilley says that the effect of the Italian influence on French sculpture was almost wholly injurious. The sources of this decadence were three in number, the first, virtuosity, or the display of technical skill and knowledge for their own sake; the drapery was either made to fall in unnaturally complicated folds in order to show off the sculptor's skill with the chisel, or was drawn over the knee or some other convenient part of the body for the purpose of calling attention to his knowledge of anatomy. This is simply bad art. The second

[3] "La galerie où le sage Adamas conduisit Daphnide et Alcidon, estoit plus considerable pour les curiositez qui s'y trouvaient que pour la magnificence de sa structure parce qu'encores que les marbres des portes et des fenestres rendissent son bastiment fort beau et fort riche, et que les justes distances des tours, la reglée proportion de la hauteur et de la largeur y fussent exactement observées selon la longueur qu'elle avoit, et que les lambris et les dorures n'y fussent point epargnées: si est-ce que le soing que le sage Druyde avoit eu de l'enrichir de toutes les choses plus rares que produit non seulement l'Europe, mais et l'Aise et l'Afrique, e tnon seulement de son temps, mais de tous les siècles passez, et desquels la memoire n'estoit point entirement perdue, surpassoit de telle sorte la richesse du bastiment, que le premier attiroit les yeux par sa beauté, l'autre retenoit les esprits en admiration de tant de raretez qui surpassoient mesme la pensée. . . .

. . . "Au dessous des frises dorées et chargées . . . se voyait une seconde frise, qui par diverses sortes de festons rapportoit un tres grand ornament a cette edifice . . ." (*Astrée*, III, 3, p. 125).

[4] "Et lors entrant dedans, le berger demeura ravy en la consideration de l'ouvrage. L'entrée estoit fort haute, et spacieuse; aux deux costez, au lieu de pilliers, estoient deux Termes qui sur leur teste soustenoient les bouts de la voute du portail. L'un figurait Pan, et l'autre Syringe, qui étaient fort industrieusement revestus de petites pierres de diverses couleurs. Les cheveux, les sourcils, les moustaches, la barbe et les deux cornes de Pan estoient de coquille de mer, si proprement mises que le ciment n'y paroissoit point. Syringue qui estoit de l'autre coste avoit les cheveux de roseaux et en quelques lieux depuis le nombril, on les voyoit comme croistre peu à peu. Le tour de la porte estoit par dehors à rustique, et pendoient des festons de coquilles rattachez en quatre endroits, finissant aupres de la teste des deux Termes (*Astrée*, I, 11, 644 f.)

was affectation, or the adoption of certain tricks of style chiefly for the purpose of attracting the spectator's attention. This again is simply bad art. The third source of decay was all the more dangerous because the principle from which it proceeded was good. This was the tendency to generalization. Now to rise from the particular to the universal, from the temporal to the eternal, from the portrait to the type, is the highest aim of the artist. Few can achieve it. Details must be studied before an attempt at generalization can be made. We must live with our own times if we would speak to the ages. We must realize the individual before we can create the type. We must stand firm on the earth if we would proclaim the eternal verities. The "grand style" as it is called, recognized to the full the generalizing principle. It was by eliminating everything not typical that Michel Angelo attained to the universal. He was able to do this because he beheld with his inner eye a concrete embodiment of his idea. Men with more commonplace souls and less powerful imaginations have no such vision, and think that the omission of mere details produces this grand style. The result is that their art lacking creative force becomes cold, conventional, and academic.[5]

French contact with Italian art produced this tendency to virtuosity, the Italian who settled in France was, in sculpture at least, only second rate in rank, and from the death of Michel Colomb (1512) until the rise to fame of Jean Goujon (1568?), no sculptor appeared in France who had at once the opportunity of studying the masterpieces of Italy and the genius to understand them.[6]

D'Urfé yielded to the prevailing tendency in French art, for when he does mention the art of sculpture it is this decadent work that appeals to his fancy. He also uses a certain amount of display and self-consciousness in the use of technical terms. Sculpture for him, as for most of his contemporaries, meant merely portraiture.[7]

A description of decorative sculpture is given of the tomb which stood in the midst of the grotto, ten to twelve feet high, terminating in a crown on the top . . . . The space between each picture was occupied by pilasters of black marble,

[5] Tilley, *The Dawn of the French Renaissance*, p. 515 f.
[6] Tilley, *The Dawn of the French Renaissance*, p. 515 f.
[7] See for example, *Astrée*, III, 3, p. 125 f.

grooved. The corners, base, and capitals of these pilasters, and the cornice connecting the pictures, he tells us, were like a cincture uniting the diverse pieces into one well composed whole.[8]

It may be noted that this period of decadence in the somatic art, observed about the dawn of the seventeenth century, coincides with a rise in popularity in painting which was felt about this time in the general acclaim given to the genius of Simon Vouet (1590-1649).

[8] *Astrée*, I, 11, p. 645.

Chapter XI.

INFLUENCE OF THE ASTRÉE ON SUBSEQUENT ART.

I. PAINTING.

The great merit of the *Astrée* in the cause of art is that it created among its admirers an atmosphere favorable to artistic appreciation. A study of painting, for example, will reveal a decided effort at portraying the conceptions of the world of the favorite romance of the age. This influence may have been partly unconscious, but it was all the more subtle and pervasive, the ideals of the *Astrée* had penetrated the very warp and woof of French society, and it is incontestable that the work of Watteau, Pater, Lancret and their disciples consisted in placing before our eyes the men and women who formed it.

France did not in the first half of the seventeenth century possess an indigenous school of painting. Poussin and Claude de Lorraine received their training and lived for the most part in Rome; but when Louis XIV shifted the artistic center to Paris, France made such rapid strides as to become a formidable rival to Italy. In this movement Poussin played an active part. His bucolic paintings as well as those of Claude de Lorraine, whose shepherds were contemporaries of the *Astrée* show that the enthusiasm for nature awakened by the story was not solely confined to literature. Poussin, we are informed, was touched by the beauty of d'Urfé's descriptions and in his youth visited the scene of the story, for the purpose of studying the landscape and of choosing picturesque spots for the background of some of his pictures.[1] These memories are summed up in his pastoral subjects in which he makes a break with tradition and marks a new departure,[2] and especially in his famous

[1] The story of Poussin's visit to Forez is referred to in Bernard, *Les d'Urfé en Forez*, p. 179, "Entre les plus célèbres je citerai le Poussin, qui touché de la lecture d'Astrée, vint dans sa jeunesse sur les bords du Lignon, étudier la belle nature, et faire un choix de sites pittoresques. (*Voyage au Mont-Pila, sur les bords du Lignon*, etc. Paris, imprimé vers l'année 1800, par Portmann, pour le libraire Desenne. C'est la relation d'une excursion faite vers 1795 par deux amis qui ont gardé l'anonyme. Cet ouvrage fort rare m'a été donné par M. Aimé-Martin)."

Germa, *l'Astrée*, p. 192, recognizes the influence of the *Astrée* on Poussin. Chagny, *Un Ligueur*, p. 6, mentions the same fact.

[2] Cf. Denio, *Nicolas Poussin*, p. 140.

Shepherds of Arcadia. The picture represents three shepherds and a draped female figure standing before a monument. One passes his finger over an inscription, while a second reads the words, "Et in Arcadia ego," And I also was in Arcadia, that is in the land of idealism and happiness. We are convinced that this canvas of the greatest painter of the seventeenth century, is, consciously or unconsciously, a tribute to the pleasant memories aroused by the romance of Honoré d'Urfé.

Notwithstanding, pastoral subjects did not appear in great number in France until the next century, and this for two reasons. The peace of Vervins (1578) marked the beginning of a new era in the country, for with the advent of the king of Navarre, the Gascon made its influence felt among other ways in reinforcing the Latin elements already strong in the French character. Art also began to show these classic inclinations, accentuated by the reign of Louis XIV whose taste leaned to the tragic art of Corneille and Racine as more suited to the "grand monarch." During his reign portraiture reached a high degree of excellence, antiquity was made a fetish, the stiff, formal and dignified were the mode, and the light and frivolous were banished. There was also a compromise between artists and the growing spirit of Jansenism, which was the extreme protest against the laxity of the Renaissance. This is strikingly evident in the art of Lesueur who endeavored to avoid what charms the eye or allures the senses; Lesueur himself, occasionally, as in the *Muses,* whom he so well groups in an ideal landscape, and crowns with flowers, recalls to our minds the nymphs of the *Astrée.*[3] He also attempts to render the chiaroscuro, so highly praised in the old romance.

Many points of resemblance can be discovered between the ideals of art advocated in the *Astrée* and the paintings of Claude Gellée de Lorraine. Both have idealised reality. As described in the story, so in the landscapes of Claude, the sky is always cloudless, we are introduced to a land of unreal loveliness, in which d'Urfé has, in common with the painter, given close attention to the study of the effects of sunlight.[4]

On the whole, the idealistic outlook on life affected by the shepherds of Forez seemed to accord ill with the severe spirit

[3] *Astrée,* I, 2, p. 82.
[4] Cf. *Astrée,* I, 11, pp. 652-660, etc.

of this time or its austere art, yet there are many traces of the influence of the novel on painting, such as those scenes depicted on the walls of the priory of Marcilly, the residence of Canon Loys Papon.[5] But for society at large, the ideals inculcated in the *Astrée* were first to become a part of its life in order to appear in its art as happened in the early eighteenth century. With the death of Louis XIV came a reaction, "Autre temps autres moeurs" when the age of the aristocracy succeeded to that of the king. It was in this epoch that the *Astrée* became truly the "brèviaire des courtisans."[6] High-born ladies played at being shepherdesses similar to those created by d'Urfé, and were painted in these costumes.[7] Statesmen like Armand, Duke of Richelieu, who was painted as Celadon with his shepherd crook, became enamoured of this pastoral style. Scenes from the *Astrée* were reproduced everywhere; Celadon precipitating himself in the Lignon was one of the subjects most preferred.[7a] This fashion persisted until the end of the eighteenth century, for Marie Antoinette in the "petit Trianon" constructed under her direction amused herself in living in real pastoral manner.[8]

Such a change in sentiment from the days of Louis XIV, necessitated a corresponding change in art. This was expressed in sculpture and architecture in the "rococo" often described in the *Astrée*,[9] which was in opposition to the rigid spirit of the old art. Painting also took on a new aspect in which the luxurious feminine spirit, the spirit of the old romance, predominated Flowering forms, nymphs, fauns and shepherd staves, in fact all the characteristics of the favorite novel of the age appeared in profusion. To be more in accord with the delicate sentiment of the romance, members of society employed only toned hues in their costumes which were also carried over into art. The invention of pastel painting which came into existence to meet the new needs, was an outcome of this endeavor to express daintiness in painting and to relieve it of all fatty and heavy qualities in order

[5] Cf. *Oeuvres du Chanoine Loys Papon*, Introduction by Yemeniz, p. V.

[6] In the reunions which took place at Be ley and at which St. Francis de Sales, Camus, and Honoré d'Urfé were present, the *Philothea* of the Saint was styled the "livre des dévots," the *Fabrian Code* of Favre, as the "livre des barreaux," and the *Astrée* as the "livre des courtisans." Cf. Camus, *L'Esprit du B. François de Sales*, t. VI, p. 119.

[7] Cf. Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 278. In 1664, there is an account of a visit made to a well known society lady who received her guests dressed like a shepherdess of the *Astrée* and surrounded by a group of ladies in similar costume (book of *Amities, Amours et Amourettes* by Le Pays, quoted by Lefranc, *Revue des Cours et Conferences*, 1906).

[7a] Soultrait-Thiollier, *Histoire de La Bastie.*

[8] Germa, *l'Astrée*, p. 235.

[9] *Astrée*, I, 11, p. 645, etc.

to render those evanescent silken robes and powdered hair more perfectly.[10]

Watteau was the master-delineator of this elegant society. His *"Assemblées dans un Parc"* are undoubtedly a literal translation of the *Astrée.* Everything is reproduced with exactitude, the background, the life in the open, the stage-like decoration of the park and garden. In *L'Embarquement pour l'Ile de Cythère,* one of the glories of French art,[11] the ideals of a whole generation saturated with the principles of the novel are placed before us. Thus with the greatest of the small masters we reach the high water mark of the influence of the *Astrée* on painting.[12]

As the century advanced court life became less and less strict. The cult of the senses crept in through Flanders, to be followed by the pursuit of pleasure which then became the only object in life, and the example set by the nobility spread its insidious roots down to the lowest strata of the nation.[13] A slackening of the idealism in their relations so alluringly upheld in the *Astrée* followed in this society of men and women too eager for amusement at the expense of duty. This soon showed itself in the arts, it was true of painting, but to a more marked degree of engraving. Idealized subjects, such as these of Watteau gradually gave way to the purely frivolous, so that from the "fêtes gallantes" there was a slow descent to the "sujet grivois" to be succeeded with ever increasing suggestiveness in Greuze, Fragonard and their school.[14]

In some of his more serious work, Boucher is evidently under the spell of d'Urfé. His *Bergère endormie* is in every way similar to a corresponding scene in the story,[15] and his other characters descend by direct line from those in the *Astrée.*

Towards the latter part of the eighteenth century this loss of idealism invaded every form of art, and almost monopolized the field of engraving. The meretricious standard of beauty prevailing immediately before the Revolution was fully in accord

[10] Cf. Haldane McFall, *The French Pastellists of the eighteenth century,* London, 1907.
[11] Phillips, *Antoine Watteau,* p. 172.
[12] What was said of Watteau's art, ". . . au fond de cet Oeuvre de Watteau je ne sais quelle lente et vague harmonie murmure derrière les paroles rieuses; je ne sais quelle tristesse musicale et doucement contagieuse est répandue dans ces fêtes galantes" (Edmond et Jules de Goncourt) is remarkably similar to the sentiments aroused in reading the charming old romance of Honoré d'Urfé.
[13] Archibald Younger, *French Engravers,* p. XII.
[14] Cf. Lady Dilke, *French Engravers and Draughtsmen of the XVIIIth century;* and Younger, *French Engravers of the 18th century.*
[15] *Astrée,* II, 8, 420.

with the spirit of society. It had outgrown the quaint old story with its stately and respectful love interest, and no longer cared to see the sentiments it expressed represented in its art. Still in spite of the turning of the great current of art from its idealism, we find traces of its influence as late as 1750 for a painting was exhibited in Paris in that year whose subject was drawn from the *Astrée*.[16]

II. MINOR ARTS.

A. Tapestry.

Probably the first author to draw popular attention to the influence of the *Astrée* on designers of tapestry was George Sand.[17] In *Les beaux messieurs de Boisdoré*,[18] she describes a set of ten pieces of tapestry from the famous factory of Aubusson picturing the principal episodes of the *Astrée*.[19] On them are embroidered the names of the chief characters in the story, with their distinctive sayings. The subjects include, the drowning of Celadon, Celadon saved by the nymph Galatée, the Combat between the Moor and Filandre, etc. "Les tentures de M. de Bois-Doré étaient merveilleusement composées, en ce sens qu'on avait réussi à faire tenir, au moyen des groupes lointains semés dans le paysage, plusieurs aventures en une seule, et que ce bon seigneur avait le plaisir de repasser les principales scènes de son poëme favori, en faisant le tour de son appartement. Mais c'étaient bien les plus absurdes dessins et les plus invraissemblables couleurs qui se pussent imaginer, et rien ne pouvait mieux caractériser le mauvais goût qui, en ce temps, marchait, faux et fade, à coté du grand goût splendide de Rubens et des allures crânes et vraies de Callot.[20]

This vogue must have been widespread for we are told that, "les tapisseries, les faïences peintes de la première moitié du XVIIe siècle représentèrent des paysages animés par des bergers foréziens."[21]

Guiffrey also speaks of the popularity of the *Astrée* with the designers of tapestries, and he says that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries many subjects were taken from the

[16] *Archives de l'Art français, Recueil de Documents inédits*, t. IV, p. 15.
[17] Pseudonym of Lucille Aurore Dupin, wife of Baron Dudevant.
[18] Tome, I, p. 65 f.
[19] Cf. Perathon, *Manufactures de Tapisserie*, p. 31.
[20] Sand, *Les Beaux messieurs de Boisdoré*, t. 1, p. 65 f.
[21] Soultrait-Thiollier, *Hist. de la Bastie*, p. 7.

romance.[22] All are agreed however, that the designs are mediocre. In the case of a piece of carpet found by M. Poyet on which the word *Astrée* was written and which he showed to Bernard, the execution is good and the colors are still vivid.[23]

In the inventory of the chateau of L. Laisné in 1680 there is a set of Brussels tapestries entitled *L'Histoire d'Astrée,* and in that of the Abbé d'Effiat, in 1698: "*Tenture de tapisserie des Gobelins, L'Histoire d'Astrée,* de vingt-six aulnes de course . . ."[24]

B. French Faïence.

Porcelain or faïence, an article in common use, is more likely to represent favorite subjects than tapestry. It is not surprising, then, to meet frequent reproductions from the popular romances in the ceramic productions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[25]

The art of porcelain was influenced by the *Astrée.* Scenes from the story were painted on faïence manufactured in Nevers,[26] and Jacquemart notes a piece of Sèvres ware showing a pastoral scene from this novel. The subject is from the burin of Boucher, and represents the shepherd Celadon, with silk breeches, kneeling near a shepherdess. Cupids emerging from the foliage hover over them ready to crown the pair with roses. The characters, landscape, sky, patiently copied with a burin, are executed in fine touches of rose, cross stippled according to the fancy of the model, or rather according to the needs of the material.[27]

When Desforges-Maillard, the poet, left Forez to return to Croisic in Brittany, he stopped in Saint-Marcel-d'Urfé at the house of Monsieur d'Albon, who showed him on the center of an old colored Faïence plate what he declared to be the portraits of Celadon and Astrée.[28]

It is also worthy of note that the word Celadon employed as a technical term finds its origin in the name of the hero of the

[22] Guiffrey, *Histoire de la Tapisserie,* p. 446.
[23] Pérathon, *Manufactures de Tapisserie,* p. 40.
[24] Archives de l'Art Français, 1892, pp. 113 and 128. (Quoted in Duportal, *Livres à figures,* p. 334.
[25] It would be absurd to assert that the *Astrée* is the only novel of which this is true. See, for instance, *Le Songe de Polyphile,* supposed to have inspired Palissy, creator of ceramic art in France, in the designs he executed on his famous rustic vases. Cf. Jacquemart, *Les Merveilles de la Céramique,* p. 269.
[26] Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé,* p. 282. See also an article by Roger de Quirielle: *Une image en faïence de Celadon et d'Astrée,* le Forez illustré, Nos. 26, 27, Roanne (Loire).
[27] Jacquemart, *Hist. artistique, industrielle et commercialle de la Porcelaine* (Sévres et la Saxe), p. 396.
[28] Desforges-Maillard, *Oeuvres en prose et en vers,* t. I, préf. et *Mémoires de l'auteur* etc., p. 197, et t. II, p. 92. (Quoted by Reure, Op. cit. 318).

Astrée. It presents an interesting history: Celadon, a pale or grayish green and by extension of the term, an oriental porcelain with a ground of clear green enamel. Has the shepherd Celadon of the *Astrée* given it his name? It seems very probable if we reflect that it was at the time of the greatest vogue of this romance in which the characters were clothed in the palest and daintiest colors, that the India Company, founded in 1602, made its first importation of oriental china to the West. The court of France immediately bestowed on this unfamiliar and soft color the name of the popular hero. In 1690 Antoine Furetière, author of a French dictionary, admitted to general usage the word Celadon defining it as a dull green mixed with white. To-day, the word celadon is applied to a series of Chinese, Japanese and Persian pieces, in which the ground is no longer this pale green from which it first obtained the name, but any uniformly tinted shade which covers the entire ware.[29]

The name of the hero of the *Astrée* passed into the English language with the same aesthetic significance. We find the term in Longfellow:

"A sky just washed by April rains,
And beautiful with *celadon.*"

(Harper's Magazine, Dec. 1887.)

and again:

"To all the markets of the world
Those porcelain leaves with spots are wafted on,—
Light yellow leaves with spots and stains
Of violet and of crimson dye, . . .
And beautiful with *celadon.*"

(*Kéramos*).

[29] La Grande Encyclopédie; article, *Celadon.*

Chapter XII.

ENGRAVINGS AND PORTRAITS IN THE ASTRÉE.

The art of engraving had reached a considerable stage of development at the opening of the seventeenth century partly owing to the demand just beginning to be felt for illustrated printed books. A movement of transition is strongly reflected in these illustrations; artists were insensibly becoming detached from the theories of the second school of Fontainebleau and were accepting new tendencies found in the Spanish, Venetian and Classical sources then used. The manner of interpreting the literary matter of the books was also more original. It was, besides, an epoch of transformation in method, for engraving on copper was slowly replacing wood cuts, the burin permitting the reproduction of the most delicate shadings in the design.

As the *Astrée* is one of the most wide-spread examples of the change, a brief sketch of the different editions and the names of the engravers will prove useful. This is all the more appropriate as comparatively little remains of the art of the time (except architecture and sculpture), and the illustrated books have preserved many traces of the taste which later became so evident in the grand art of the eighteenth century.

The *Astrée* gave an opportunity to some of the best engravers of the seventeenth century to exhibit their talents. In the first edition of the work (which seems to have been unknown to M. le Chanoine Reure), we find the following description:[1]

"L'Astrée de Messire Honoré d'Urfé Gentilhomme de la Chambre du Roy, Capitaine de cinquante hommes d'armes de ses Ordonnances, Comte de Chateauneuf, et Baron de Chateaumorand, etc. Où Par plusieurs Histoires, et sous personnes de Bergers et d'autres, sont deduits les divers effets de l'honneste amitié. A Paris, chez Toussaincts Du Bray, au Pallais, en la Galerie des prisonniers, MDCVII. Avec Privilège du Roy." Figure on the title page, a wood cut (Library mark: ripe ears of

[1] From Mlle. Jeanne Duportal, *Livres à Figures du XVIIe Siècle*, (1601-1633), p. 34, No. 114.

corn and the motto "Fertilior cultu.") I vol. in-8 o. (Engraver, N. . .).[2]

In the same year M. Reure mentions an edition without the author's name and with no dedication to the king.[3] The edition of 1610, L'Astrée de Messire Honoré d'Urfé, second part has a frontispiece signed, P. Firens fecit (Portico, on either side Astrée and Celadon)[4] while that of 1619 has the following: Three figures: I. Frontispicce engraved by L. Gaultier. (Portico with Alexis and Astrée and through the opening the river Lignon.)[5] II. A portrait signed "Ludovic' Bobrun delin. I. Briot fecit 1619" (D'Urfé). III. Portrait signed "Ludovic' Bobrun delin. I. Briot fecit 1619" (Astrée).[6]

The same appears in the edition of 1627: Three figures: I. Frontispiece signed L. Gaultier incidit 1628 (2nd state of that of 1610). II. Portrait of d'Urfé,[7] the same as in the edition of 1610. III. Portrait of Astrée. (The same as in the edition of 1610).[8] (Bibliothèque Nationale, Y 7034). (4)

The names of the engravers, Rabel, C. David, and M. Lasne appear in the Conclusion of the *Astrée* by Baro, 1628.

Figures: I. Frontispiece signed "Rabel invet, C. D. fe" (Astrée and Celadon before the Fountain of Love). II Portrait signed "Briot fecit" (D'Urfé). III. Portrait signed "Briot fecit" (Astrée). IV. Portrait signed "Ferdinand pinx. M. Lasne f." (Baro).[9]

An important work in the history of book illustration of this time is: "Les figures de Mr. d'Urfé, Iére Partie, A Paris, chez Melchior Tavernier, graveur et imprimeur du Roy pour les Tailles Douces Demeurent en l'Isle du Palais à l'Espix d'Or, 1632. Avec privilège du Roy. I vol. in-4o obl." 13 figures: I. Frontispiece and twelve plates (The chateaux are those of Chateaumorand and La Bastie, owned by the family of d'Urfé), anonymous, but the designs are attributed to D. Rabel and sometimes also, the engravings.[10]

In the editions of 1632-1633, each book has its appropriate

[2] Bibliothèque Nationale, Réserve P. Y. 261.
[3] Reure, *La Vie et les Oeuvres d'Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 216.
[4] See Reure, *Op. cit.* p. 217; and Duportal, *Livres à Figures*, p. 56, No. 196.
[5] A second state of this frontispiece is found at the beginning of the fourth part of the *Astrée*. (See 1627.)
[6] Duportal, *Livres à figures*, p. 112, No. 379: Reure, p. 217.
[7] This portrait is not mentioned in the bibliography of the editions of the *Astrée*, given by M. le Chanoine Reure.
[8] Duportal, *Livres à Figures*, p. 182, No. 583.
[9] Duportal, *Livres à Figures*, p. 187, No. 604.
[10] Duportal, *Livres à Figures*, p. 211, No. 687; Reure, *La Vie*, p. 223. Cabinet des Estampes, Ta. 57.

engraving, that is a total in the complete work of sixty illustrations. The frontispiece is by Daret.[11] The fifth part of the Astrée, "Dediée par l'Autheur à quelques-uns des Princes de l'Empire" (1625) has a frontispiece, a portrait of d'Urfé by Crispin de Pass, and the portrait of Astrée. Portrait of d'Urfé "A la memoire de Monsieur d'Urfé."[12]

The edition by the Abbé Souchay (1733), contains sixty engravings by Guélard, Rigaud and Gravelot.[13]

There is also an abridged edition which Reure thinks bears the date 1903?[14] containing eighteen engravings of the heroes and heroines of the romance and the fountain of love.

The general edition of 1647 contains the same engravings as that of 1632-1633, retouched.[15] The designers and engravers of these editions are D. Rabel;[16] L. Bobrun;[17] P. Daret;[18] Ch. David;[19] and M. Lasne.[20]

A new edition of the *Astrée* appeared in 1733, for which Gravelot[21] designed the illustrations. These do not show great originality. In 1775 Charles-Nicolas Cochin (fils) executed a subject from the *Astrée*.[22]

The illustrations in the editions of the *Astrée* during the first half of the seventeenth century are from the school of Fontainebleau then fast disappearing, and of which Daniel Rabel was one of the last representatives. His designs for the *Astrée* are generally signed "Rabel inv." which indicates that he is the originator of the pictures, as "Fecit" was only employed when the model was copied by the designer or engraver.[23]

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[11] Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 218.
[12] Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 219.
[13] Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 220.
[14] Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 220.
[15] Reure. *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 219.
[16] Daniel Rabel, 1578-1637, enjoyed a good reputation as an artist in his time. He was sent to Madrid (1616) to paint the portrait of Anne of Austria before her marriage with Louis XIII. As a painter of flowers he was considered remarkable. (Bénézit, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs et Graveurs*, 3 vol. 1911-1913.)
[17] Or Beaubrun, mentioned (1618) as portraitist to the queen. Uncle of Charles and Henry Bobrun. Died 1627. (*Op. cit.*)
[18] Pierre Daret de Cazeneuve, 1604-1678, engraver, painter and writer. Reproduced Flemish masters, Rubens, Van Dyck, etc. (*op. cit.*)
[19] Charles David, 1600-1636-8, one of the best engravers of his time. (*Op. cit.*)
[20] Michel Lasne, 1595-1667, charming artist who is considered the equal of Callot for the liberty and spirit of his reproductions. Excellent designer, most of his engravings are executed from his original compositions. (*Op. Cit.*)
The work of these engravers for the *Astrée* is not mentioned in articles on them in Bénézit, *Op. cit. supra.*
[21] Hubert François Bourguignon, dit Gravelot, was not an engraver proper, but a designer for illustrated books. He was an excellent draughtsman. (Cf. Lady Dilke, *French Engravers and Draughtsmen of the XVIII century*, p. 113.)
[22] Cf. Dilke, *French Engravers of the XVIIIth century*, p. 184 (List of works exhibited in the Salon).
[23] Mlle. Jeanne Duportal, *Etudes sur les Livres à figures édités en France de* 1601 à 1660, p. 138.

In spite of the talent of Rabel and of that of his engravers, Ch. David, and Michel Lasne, he was not the artist best chosen for the task of portraying pictures to meet the needs of the readers of d'Urfé about the year 1630. These had other tastes and dreams than those of the generation of Rabel. Nevertheless there is much grace and charm in the little "Tableaux de genre" in which the heroine and her friends stroll about in beautiful parks and hold salons in the depths of the forest. There is in them a survival of the customs of the incunabula, such as found in the *Livres d'Heures de Simon Vostre,* in the habit the artists adopt of inscribing the names of the different characters on the pictures themselves. The shepherdesses are costumed like high-born ladies with the collar of pearls worn by the princesses of the time. It is natural to expect that the best engravings of the volumes should be these where round the alcoves of Louis XIII, parades the world of the "ruelle"[24] for Rabel was official designer of the ballets of the king, and must have reproduced by preference what came under his eyes.

It is probable, also, that everything is not fictitious in the architectural decorations of some of the illustrations in the *Astrée.* The chateaux and palaces sketched there are most likely the Luxembourg, then in course of construction (V, 6), the old Louvre of Charles V (III, 2), and the first chateau of Versailles (V, 2) whose history is still somewhat of a mystery.[25]

The author of the *Astrée* gives exact and definite descriptions of his native province, but the illustrators who were from other regions of France do not seem to have paid close attention to the text of d'Urfé and designed only conventional forests, fields and horizons. The realistic note, however, appears in these pictures with a curious coincidence. In the figure placed at the beginning of book four of the first part, an instrument for carrying can be distinguished which is no other than the "filanzane" (kind of palanquin) still in use in Madagascar. It was precisely at the time these illustrations were designed that the question of the French establishment of the large colony was the talk of the day.[26]

A connection may also be seen between the compositions of

[24] e. g., *Astrée,* part II, books 11, 12; V, 10.

[25] Batiffol, L., *Le Château de Versailles sous Louis XIII* (Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1913); see, also, Duportal, *Livres à Figures,* p. 265.

[26] See A. Malotet, *Etienne de Flacourt,* ou *Les origines de la colonisation française à Madagascar;* also, *Voyage de Beaulieu,* 1620; *Voyage de Cauche,* 1638.

Rabel for the *Astrée* and his paintings of the Chateau de Cheverny.[27] The work of this artist as it appears in the *Astrée* shows very considerable talent as a landscape painter.

It is also interesting to note the picture of the *Enchanted Fountain of the Truth of Love* designed by C. N. Cochin and engraved by Augustin de Saint-Aubin which is described in the *Mercure de France* (August 1783). This print which has been highly praised both for the originality of the design and the perfection of the engraving represents Celadon, Sylvandre, Diane and Astrée in the foreground before the fountain. Two lions, guardians of the spot, are shown attacking the shepherds, while two unicorns are rushing to their defense.[28]

Of the numerous portraits of Honoré d'Urfé the best known is from the brush of Van Dyck, engraved by Pet. de Baillue. Another engraving resembling this was executed by Van Schuppen in 1699 for Perrault's book, *Hommes illustres*.[29] It was probably in 1623 that the master portraitist of the time painted this picture of Honoré d'Urfé.[30] The most striking feature in the work of the Flemish artist is the refined elegance of the model. The figure is seated before a draped background in the latest style of the time displaying the usual large lace collar and ruffs. A mantle which falls in graceful folds is thrown over the right shoulder. The left hand holding his gloves rests lightly on the back of a chair. The face is intelligent, rather full, of a regular oval, with pointed moustache and beard. A very pronounced air of melancholy can be observed in the expression of the eyes and recalls forcibly to the mind Celadon, the hero of the romance.

Another portrait appearing as a frontispiece in the *Astrée* offers a striking contrast to the one just described. We notice especially the air of decision on his countenance. The curled peruke has given place to short crisp hair crowned by a wreath of laurel, he still wears the pointed beard, his eyes seem larger and more animated and the face appears longer and thinner, showing a man in the maturity of physical and intellectual vigor. His costume is unusual, a lion's skin is carelessly

[27] Duportal, *Livres à Figures*, pp. 326 f.
[28] *Les Gravures Françaises du XVIIIe Siècle* ou *Catalogue Raisonné des Estampes, Vignettes, Eaux-Fortes, Pièces en Couleur au Bistre et au Lavis, de* 1700 *à* 1800, par Emmanuel Bocher, Cinquième Fascicule, Augustin de Saint-Aubin, p. 139.
[29] We are indebted to M. Hugues Vaganay for a reproduction of the engraving after Van Schuppen.
[30] Chagny, *Un Ligueur*, p. 11.

thrown across the shoulder giving d'Urfé the appearance of a conqueror, while the inscription in Greek encircling the portrait explains the nature of this conquest: *The glory bestowed by the Muses is praiseworthy.* A careless smile lights up the whole face. As Chagny says, it is indeed the portrait of Honoré d'Urfé, but he is no longer the melancholy Celadon, he is the gay, mocking Hylas.[31]

[31] *Un Ligueur,* pp. 11 f. On the portraits and other representations of the author of the *Astrée,* see Reure, *Honoré d'Urfé,* pp. 368 ff.

CONCLUSION

To summarize briefly the results of a study necessarily incomplete, Honoré d'Urfé was by nature and by tradition admirably fitted to develop a theory of aesthetics and art. This writer more than any other man of that time made of French society a center of refinement and appreciation of the beautiful. In his own personality he offers a striking instance of the effect of an ancestry of culture, an environment where study of art entered naturally into his every day life, factors which combined to bestow upon him an authority beyond question in these matters.

It has often been remarked that in families near extinction all the qualities distributed through long generations are gathered together in a favored individual as if Nature wished to make a supreme effort thus to assure immortality to the name. In the history of the d'Urfé family this law seems to be particularly evident, for shortly after the appearance of its most brilliant member this decline became a fact. Honoré, the exemplar of all these traits, shows in his character many reasons for this decadence. The refinement, delicacy, the exquisite balancing of the emotional side observed in his life history indicate the predominance of the sensitive over the purely muscular and energetic elements of the human system. He was thus by temperament admirably amenable to whatever was high and ideal in life and conduct, occasionally carrying this quality to the sublime as in the case of his friendships. We have dwelt, for this reason, on the historical facts of the author's ancestry and life in order to throw more light and give a better understanding of his work. For the *Astrée* may be considered as the culmination of this tradition coming down through his ancestors Pierre, Claude, and Jacques d'Urfé, and as a mirror reflecting and harmonizing the various influences entering into his training.

D'Urfé recognized that Society of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries had a genuine need for an ideal of life and manners. This need he supplied in his admirable work, the *Astrée*. Here is presented a charming picture of love in which he tried to make goodness, truth and beauty an intimate thing

in life, thus passing on to his generation his own inheritance of culture. The *Astrée* also taught the century of Jansenism that beauty when considered in its source has a religious mission and as a beacon points to God.

The concept of beauty as it appears in the *Astrée* is not set forth in a systematic manner, the elements entering into its definition must be reconstructed from the various conversations scattered throughout the work. For our author, beauty is not merely what pleases, it has an objective reality and a deeper meaning. It is a reflection of the perfections of the Supreme Being which He manifests to us. Through it man rises towards the Creator whom he recognizes as the great Artist. Beauty, then, like goodness, has a spiritual function, partakes of a religious dignity and should never be dissociated from it by a viewpoint unworthy of this mission. Beauty gives rise to love, and acting and living through love, d'Urfé makes this union the meeting ground of Christianity and Platonism.

He does not confine himself to theories of beauty in general, he appropriates from Nature around him all that is beautiful and lovely. This is concretized in his characters especially in his heroines who are its highest sensible manifestation. It would be a great injustice to Honoré d'Urfé to consider the sympathetic delineation of his personages to be due merely to an artificial and over-refined sentimentality. No matter what their role, the author, idealist and mystic that he is, sees in all humanity enough native beauty and goodness to remind his readers that they are a spark of the supreme Beauty and Goodness. Even Hylas, the most objectionable character in the story, is a lovable person and supplies the necessary element of humor and pleasing variety which prevents the long discourses of the others from becoming monotonous.

D'Urfé, rightly, subordinates nature to man, holding the view that since it was created for him, and since it is he alone who can refer beauty to its Creator, it must be interpreted by man who alone can proceed from effect to cause. Nature is always agreeable in reality to one who can understand and see in it the work of an intelligent Being. The better our aesthetic senses are cultivated, the more we can see the beauty around us and the greater is our capacity for giving glory to God. The author of the *Astrée* saw beauty everywhere, in animals, in inanimate

objects and in the various phenomena of life. The natural beauty of landscape, is for him, pastoral, gentle and subdued, the sublime and grand rarely tempt his pen. This nature plays the role of a beneficent and wise nurse healing the wounds caused by the disorder of war.

In art our author is a true son of the Renaissance in his choice of subject, reveling in the fancies of classic mythology, yet he is also keenly alive to the rustic beauty of his native province and by his descriptions immortalized that comparatively obscure corner of France. The *Astrée* popularized the pastoral idea in art and aided in its development. Painting was his favorite branch as it was also the typical art of the great movement. He treats nearly all the fundamental problems then discussed in art. Honoré d'Urfé never forgets the purpose of art and its moral mission, for while technical excellence is praised, he leads his reader to its inner meaning or soul. In all these descriptions the influence of his home, the chateau of La Bastie, on his imagination can be detected. Here art was not only treasured but its significance understood and the explanations given by the author in his work are evidently similar to those he had received in his youth, for there is little doubt that his inquiring mind craved an explanation of the masterpieces to be found in his own home. In this manner his environment stimulated his creative powers and in many places in his story we find an echo of the information thus received.

Although saturated with the ideals of the Renaissance the author of the *Astrée* was singularly free from its sensualism, his mysticism and Christian training lifting him to a higher realm, and although circumscribed by the limitations of a pseudo-historical novel from speaking on Christian truths, yet he succeeded in introducing a Christian atmosphere and code of morality into his writing.

Such is the philosophy of beauty. On account of the seductive charm with which it was explained, society gradually took on a more spiritual aspect, men and women were infatuated with the idea of the beautiful and endeavored to carry into their lives the idealism of the *Astrée*. In thus speaking to his generation, d'Urfé taught them to discuss the things of the spirit raising the tone of their ordinary conversation. The result was an impression of the "unseen" which became evident in the

mystical trend of the seventeenth century, so that almost unawares society took a step towards Christ. The close relationship between the philosophy of Honoré d'Urfé and that of his friend, Saint Francis de Sales, amounting almost to a parallelism has been commented on by eminent writers. Critics have praised the smooth style of the prose of the *Astrée;* they have admired the grace of many of his verses; they have pointed out the morality in the love interest of the story. We have endeavored to demonstrate that the excellencies of the work arise principally from the aesthetic concept on which he bases his theory of *honneste amitié.* In giving the *Astrée* to his century we believe that Honoré d'Urfé performed a great cultural service which deeper study of the influences of the romance on society and art will corroborate. We hope to have contributed in some slight way to the rehabilitation of this splendid old romance. Modern pleasure-loving society could not tolerate a book so deep in character or of such length, for the work must be studied to be appreciated. But the *Astrée,* we are convinced, will be considered more and more as a didactic, pedagogical and intensely ethical performance and less as a novel in the modern sense. Thus it will be more highly esteemed when critics, whose occupation should be principally directive, understand its moral value, the beneficent influence it exercised; its importance in the study of French literature in the formation of the great century will be more fully realized; and under its disguise as a novel it will be recognized that in reality it is a philosophy of life, a manual of ethics and of Christian etiquette.

France is indebted to d'Urfé for having idealized beauty in the epoch in which he wrote, for it was a dangerous gift in the society of Henry IV and Louis XIII. Honoré's contemporaries may have suffered many lapses in their ethical code, but we must give them credit, at least, for having read the *Astrée* with enthusiasm and profited by its lessons. In view of this we may be better disposed to tolerate the long drawn out discussions of the author's heroes and heroines, and repeat the wish Honoré himself made when sending his shepherdess Astrée out to try her literary fortune: "Le ciel te le (voyage) rendre heureux, et te donne un si bon Genie, que tu me survives autant de siecles que le sujet qui t'a fait naistre me survivra en m'accompagnant au cercueil."

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